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OCTOBER, 1914

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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.



PEACE.

(After a photograph.)

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

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THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXVIII. (No. 10)

OCTOBER, 1914

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ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

(Reprinted from *The Saturday Review*, London, September 11, 1897.)

THE OLD WISE MAN of Europe has spoken. And there should fall on England the silence of reflection and preparation. "The chief topic of conversation between the Emperor and the Tsar," said Prince Bismarck, as quoted by the *Times*, "must have turned on the subject of England." The old statesman has watched the growth of the grafts they planted on the Prussian stock, and knows that the principalities and provinces of the German Empire are united into a vigorous and organic whole. He knows that Russia, shapeless and vast, an incompressible but docile fluid, may be quietly held off the flanks of Germany, to creep slowly and irrepressibly through the Balkans to the sea. There, in a corner remote from German interests, it may meet the enemies of Germany with explosive violence. And France? Does he not remember how, when the difficulty France appeared to have in accepting the *fait accompli* of the integrality of the German Empire inspired in him a "prudent mistrust," he said to Ferry: "Seek some compensation. Found colonies. Take outside of Europe whatever you like; you can have it. And Ferry, without my ever having sought to create for him the slightest embarrassment—quite the contrary—obtained Tunis," and, he might have added, Tonkin? France busy with her Tunis and her Tonkin, Russia quietly pushed to the east and the south, and there was left for Germany the simple task of sitting peacefully on her bulging coffers, while her merchants captured the trade of England and her diplomatist guided the diplomatists of England into perpetual bickerings with other countries.

Prince Bismarck has long recognized what at length the people of England are beginning to understand—that in Europe there are two great, irreconcilable, opposing forces, two great nations who

would make the whole world their province, and who would levy from it the tribute of commerce. England, with her long history of successful aggression, with her marvelous conviction that in pursuing her own interests she is spreading light among nations dwelling in darkness, and Germany, bone of the same bone, blood of the same blood, with a lesser will-force, but, perhaps with a keener intelligence, compete in every corner of the globe. In the Transvaal, at the Cape, in Central Africa, in India and the East, in the islands of the Southern Sea, and the far north-west, wherever (and where has it not?) the flag has followed the Bible and trade has followed the flag, there the German bagman is struggling with the English pedler. Is there a mine to exploit, a railway to build, a native to convert from bread-fruit to tinned meat, from temperance to trade gin, the German and the Englishman are struggling to be first. A million petty disputes build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen. If Germany were extinguished to-morrow, the day after to-morrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer. Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession; must they not fight for two hundred million pounds of commerce?

There is something pathetic in the fashion in which the aged statesman sees at once the swift approach of the catastrophe he was the first to anticipate, and the crumbling away of the preparations he had made against its event. Take first the approach of the event. Ten years ago, except to the Prince himself, and perhaps to one or two watchful Englishmen, the idea of a war between the two great Protestant Powers, so alike in temperament and genius, would have seemed impossible. Three years ago, [in 1894] when the *Saturday Review* began to write against the traditional pro-German policy of England, its point of view made it isolated among leading organs of opinion. When, in February 1896, one of our writers, discussing the European situation, declared Germany the first and immediate enemy of England, the opinion passed as an individual eccentricity. A month later the German flag was hissed at a London music-hall, and when on a Saturday night in April an evening paper sent out its newsboys crying "War with Germany!" the traffic of Edgeware Road stopped to shout. The outrageous follies of William the Witless, the German schemes in the Transvaal, the German breaches of international law in Central Africa, what Bismarck calls the "undue nagging of the English" in all diplomatic relations, the notorious set of German policy in the council of Ambassadors at Constantinople, and above all, the fashion

in which England has been made to learn the real extent of German commercial rivalry, have all done their work; and now England and Germany alike realize the imminent probability of war. What Bismarck realized, and what we too may soon come to see, is that not only is there the most real conflict of interests between England and Germany, but that England is the only Great Power who could fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt of the issue. Her partners in the Triple Alliance would be useless against England; Austria, because she could do nothing; Italy, because she dare not lay herself open to attack by France. The growth of Germany's fleet has done no more than to make the blow of England fall on her more heavily. A few days and the ships would be at the bottom or in convoy to English ports; Hamburg and Bremen, the Kiel Canal and the Baltic ports would lie under the guns of England, waiting until the indemnity were settled. Our work over, we need not even be at the pains to alter Bismarck's word to Ferry, and to say to France and Russia: "Seek some compensation. Take inside Germany whatever you like, you can have it."

Against the approach of such a disaster to Germany and such a triumph for England, Bismarck sees no hope in the negotiations between France and Russia. "I fear all these efforts have been made quite in vain. A serious active working *entente*, with a very definite program and a great deal of penetrating insight and tenacity, would be required to reach a result capable of moderating English pretension. I am perfectly sure that Germany will not compass it." And again, "Certainly, it would be a very good time to recover the Suez Canal and Egypt from the English. But I do not believe that in France there is any passionate interest in this question. They are right there, perhaps, to wait for us Germans to become still more deeply involved in our foreign policy. For at present we have neither leadership nor principles, in fact nothing, nothing whatever. It is a case of general groping and waste of the stores of influence which I had accumulated."

It was inevitable that England should have been the subject of discussion between the President and the Emperor: but, even under circumstances most favorable to Germany—that is to say, were Bismarck himself pulling the strings of Europe—there could have been only an attempt to moderate the pretensions of England. To this pass has the muddling of the German Emperor brought Germany, and at a time when England has awakened to what is alike inevitable and her best hope of prosperity.

ENGLAND'S BLOOD-GUILT IN THE WORLD WAR.

BY ERNST HAECKEL.

HORRIFIED, overwhelmed, the civilized world has, during the past week, been prostrated by one of the greatest catastrophes in all history, the sudden outbreak of a world war, the fearful consequences of which no man can predict. All that suffering humanity has hitherto endured in the misfortunes of war, all the horrors of wholesale massacre, devastation, and the destruction of families, that wars have entailed in the past, fade into insignificance before the universal world-conflagration which threatens to engulf the laboriously acquired culture of six thousand years. This terrible fact is driven home to every enlightened and clear-thinking man on unbiased consideration of the present situation, especially considering the astonishing strides that modern science and technology have made in the last half-century, even during the last thirty years.

It can no longer be doubted that this dreaded "European War" which, directly or indirectly, must also affect all other parts of the earth and thus develop into the first real "World War," will far eclipse in its course and character all wars of the past. We need but remember the modern perfection of arms of all sorts, rapid-firing artillery, air craft, the conquest of time and space through the modern development of machinery and electricity, and the various agents, formerly undreamed of, which the mighty advance of science, and above all of physics and chemistry, has placed in the hands of the belligerents. The sacrifice in blood and wealth, in human lives and potentialities that we must now make, will far eclipse all such sacrifices of the past. And immediately we ask ourselves, and with right, what the real causes are of this frightful world-conflagration, what people, or what guiding spirit, will have

to bear the unprecedented blood-guilt of this international war of annihilation.

The parliament and the press of the hostile Triple Entente, the English, French and Russian newspapers, are endeavoring at present, but in vain, to throw the whole blame upon Germany. The falsity of this accusation is so patent to every one who knows the facts, that it needs no refutation. Emperor William II has, in the twenty-six years of his reign, done everything within his power to preserve for the German people the blessings of peace, and rightly was he celebrated, at the twenty-fifth jubilee of his reign, last year, as the "Emperor of Peace." Time and again he has even been charged with having carried too far his policy of concession and reconciliation toward revengeful France, arrogant England, and Panslavistic Russia. Similarly, the other two members of the Triple Alliance, Austria-Hungary and Italy, have ever endeavored to preserve the precious blessing of peace and avoid European complications. Rather does the whole responsibility for the outbreak of this world war fall on that mighty triple coalition, the *Entente Cordiale*, arranged some years ago, that freak trio of brigands in which Russia, France and England have sworn to destroy the Triple Alliance of Middle Europe, and above all, Germany's position among the great powers.

In the splendid speech from the throne with which Emperor William II opened the German Reichstag on August 4, he showed, in a terse and striking manner, the real causes that drive the enemies of our German empire to their insidious attack: envy of the prosperity of our dear fatherland, jealousy of its growing power, chagrin at our successful competition in the arts of peace.

When we consider the unprecedented sacrifice of life and property, the prolific loss of the treasures of culture, which this world war will inflict on all civilization, the author of this calamity is, in these fateful days, rightly considered as the greatest criminal in all history. So it is important for us to establish clearly in the beginning on which of the mighty members of this cursed band of brigands the greater part of the blood-guilt falls. Is it the French or the Russian or the English nation that bears the burden of responsibility and that we have most to fear?

At present, fourteen days after the outbreak of the war, the greater part of the responsibility is commonly imputed to Russia, because of its having in the beginning of August opened the attack on the mid-European Triple Alliance and, in fact, its having been the first to declare war. But the weak Czar Nicholas, who, as abso-

lute autocrat, the people believe is before all others responsible, is but an involuntary tool in the hands of the blood-thirsty grand dukes and officers in coalition with the Russian bureaucracy, an institution which for its corruptibility and greed bears the worst reputation in European government circles. The Russian people is, by far the greater part, even to-day so uninformed that it is incapable of forming a judgment of the war which its government has forced upon it. Even hatred for Germany (to which country, however, it owes the best of its culture) is not so powerful as is Panslavism, which would bend all Eastern Europe under the Russian knout. The protection of the Serb band of murderers which, directly, through the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife, gave the first impetus to the war, is likewise for Russia only the natural corollary of her egoistic, Panslavistic principles.

France is, indeed, fired even yet to a large extent by her national thirst for revenge and, at the same time, as creditor of deeply indebted Russia, is closely bound up with Russian interests. Yet the greater part of the French people are in no way animated by a desire for war, and would even now have gladly avoided the outbreak of the world-conflict, especially as their preparation for it is still inadequate. In France, as in Russia, it is, at the bottom, only a small but powerful party that now urges war with Germany, especially the ambitious generals and officers and those narrow Chauvinists who consider the *Grande Nation* alone as entitled to world sovereignty and even look with disdain upon their ally (but so profoundly different in her national character!), England.

So on England, and on England alone, plainly rests the greater part of the burden of responsibility for the outbreak of this world war. On the same fourth of August, on which day the German Reichstag unanimously voted the necessary money for the defense of the empire, England, a few hours later, declared war on Germany,—ostensibly because of the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, but, in reality, because the longed-for moment appeared at last to have arrived for the carrying out of the long-planned attack on the German empire. “Perfidious Albion,” whose hypocritical politics reflect most clearly her inconsiderate “nationalism,” her brutal egotism, has thus once again exercised her “practical morality,” solely and alone to strengthen her world-power, with no application whatever of that Christian altruism which she theoretically inscribes on her banners, with absolutely no thought of the weal or woe of the rest of mankind, and especially of her German sister nation. Protected by her isolated geographical position, sup-

ported by the greatest sea power, almighty in her widespread colonial possessions, she can laugh at all appeals to justice and righteousness.

Our imperial chancellor, whose strong and clear course of action in these troublous times is deserving of special praise, said, in conclusion, in the memorable session of the Reichstag: "The fourth of August will rank for all time as the greatest day in the history of Germany"—and rightly did he say this, for in those fateful hours all party differences, all distinction of class or creed, came to an end in the solemn pledge to sacrifice life and property for the preservation of the dear fatherland which has been so treacherously attacked.

With equal justification we can say, likewise, of our formidable enemy, Great Britain: "The fourth of August will rank for all time as one of the darkest days of England,"—for on that day the English government issued its declaration of war against Germany, a declaration which had long been in readiness, and on the very next day the British Parliament was induced by the hypocritical speeches of its intriguing minister, Sir Edward Grey, to vote, almost unanimously, the money necessary for waging war against Germany. Only a solitary member of Parliament had the courage to raise a dissentient voice. Yet, doubtless, many thousands of sensible, thoughtful and honorable Englishmen share his opinion and would preserve neutrality. Among them are numbered three of the leading members of the British Cabinet, including the famous John Morley, and these resigned their positions a few days later, washing their hands of responsibility for this mad war.

On the fourth of August the fate of the entire world hung in the balance. It was in England's power and in that of her government and parliament, in their epoch-making decision, to cast the die for peace, justice, and right, or to cast it for war, crime and evil. On the fourth of August—on that memorable day—England decided for the latter, and thus incurred the responsibility for the greatest crime mankind has known, the terrible and far-reaching results of which no one can foresee. The curse of millions of unhappy human beings is on the head of Britain, whose boundless national egotism knows no other aim than the extension of British dominion over the whole world, the exploitation of all other nations for her own advantage, and the swelling of her insatiable coffers with the gold of all other peoples.

And yet this proud British nation dares, in its hypocrisy, to parade in the guise of Christianity! It is proud of its innum-

able missionaries, its pious Bible societies which are supposed to bless all peoples with the light of the gospel, the gospel of the brotherhood of man, the altruism of which stands out in the sharpest contrast with the British egotistic principles of world-domination and world-exploitation.

* * *

And not only for us Germans but for the whole civilized world is this unholy decision of England's of tremendous significance. When Russia in the beginning of August declared war on Germany and Austria, it meant for us but a difficult European war, with its front on two borders, the east and west. Yet serious as this war would have been, we should still have had every hope of victory, defended by our keen and tried sword, and in the consciousness of a just cause and a clear conscience. By England's declaration of war against us, however, on August 4, the political and strategic situation was entirely changed. Now we are compelled to carry on a death-struggle on three frontiers; we must face two mighty armies, in the east and west, and in addition we must combat the world's greatest sea power which threatens our fleet, our sea coasts, our foreign colonies, with destruction. For this reason—through England's fault alone—the dreaded European war has grown to a universal world war of unprecedented extent. For now all other nations on the globe, whether they will or not, must also become more or less directly involved.

And if we would point to the one person of place and power at whose door lies this responsibility in blood and lives, it is neither the weak Czar Nicholas II, nor is it the ambitious president of the French republic, Poincaré, but singly and alone the intriguing British minister, Sir Edward Grey, who, through long years, has been weaving his net of steel by which Germany is to be surrounded and strangled. And now he deems the appointed time is at hand to tighten the noose, employing as his accomplice in the murder of detested Germany the natural arch-enemy of England, Slavic Russia.

Sir Edward Grey is, however, but the executor of the late King Edward VII, that execrable prince of German blood whose momentous activity during the whole of his reign consisted in the complete "isolation of Germany." Through many long years this prince of Coburg resorted to every possible means to bring about the coalition against the hated German empire,—this same brother of the German Empress Frederick and nephew of Duke Ernest II of Coburg who earned much praise for his part in the

foundation of the German empire, and, in 1860, at the first German *Turnfest* (which I attended personally in Coburg) was celebrated as champion shot, and, indeed, as heir apparent to the German imperial throne. The "Christian morality" of this talented Edward VII was indeed of a peculiar variety, according to our ideas, for he enjoyed himself best in luxurious Parisian restaurants with charming French coquettes and in gambling in the "best" English society. That he chanced to be caught at professional gambling (baccarat), and brought before court, did not hurt his great popularity in England, for he was such a "blameless gentleman"; he pursued with ability every prominent sport, and on countless occasions delivered brilliant speeches in which he impressively reminded his British people of their God-given mission of world-domination.

The dazzling goal of a British universal empire found vigorous expression two years ago in the English Parliament, when the leading ministers declared, amid loud applause, that Great Britain not only now possessed the best and most powerful of all fleets, but would maintain for all time sole domination of the seas. That brings to mind vividly the proud words of the last (blind!) King of Hanover, who declared, in 1866, at the outbreak of the Prusso-Austrian war: "My house and my kingdom shall stand forever" (!). A few weeks later they were swept away at the battle of Langensalza.

History teaches us with sufficient clearness that a world-domination by one people is not possible. How long did the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great endure? How long the world empire of the Roman Cæsars, the Spanish empire of Philip II, or the Gallic empire of Napoleon I? In the twentieth century, when the national interests of peoples, and their international relations, are more manifold and complicated than ever before, and when the greater civilized states are endeavoring to bring about a tolerable equilibrium, the dream of an all-dominating universal empire seems more chimerical than ever.

Finis Germaniac! The annihilation of the independent German empire, the destruction of German life and works, the subjection of the German people to British domination, that is the proud dream of the English government, and for its realization it has allied itself with a hostile Slavdom, a power that seriously threatens its own supremacy in Europe as well as in Asia. Germans against Germans! A people that has produced Bacon and Shakespeare, Newton and Darwin, at war with a related people that counts Luther and Copernicus, Schiller and Goethe among its own!

But the inspiring unanimity with which the German people, forgetful of all political and religious differences, have rallied around their Kaiser, the boundless spirit of self-sacrifice with which all ranks and classes are offering their lives and property for the protection of house and home, community and country, are sure auguries of victory. But should victory, in spite of the justice of our cause, not rest with us, then will we still seek to free ourselves from the English tyranny, fortified by the same perseverance with which our fathers a hundred years ago shook off the despotism of France. Better death than slavery.

Finis Britanniae! The annihilation of an independent England, the destruction of her particular nationality and her contribution to civilization, we wish none of these things; but complete liberation from the unbearable yoke under which the British empire would bend all other peoples, this we demand. And in this we shall find powerful allies among all those nations which already bear this yoke and know so well its dangers. Just as the United States of North America, in 1789, freed themselves from their tyrannical mother country, so will Canada and Ireland, India and Australia, Egypt and South Africa, sooner or later follow their example. To what end should all these rich countries which naturally are developing their own individual characters ever further from the parent stock, why should they sacrifice their powers and resources for their self-seeking mother-land, that but sinks deeper and deeper in her national egotism, and, as mistress of the seas, would bend all nations under her will?

PROFESSOR BURGESS ON BEHALF OF GER- MANY.

[For the benefit of those readers who may desire a calm, authoritative and able argument on the causes of the European war, immediate and remote, we here reproduce a long letter written to the *Springfield Republican* by Prof. John W. Burgess.

Professor Burgess, now in his seventieth year, is dean of the faculties of philosophy and of political science and constitutional law in Columbia University, a position he has filled with distinction for almost twenty-five years. He comes of the purest English stock, but was educated and has taught in Germany as well as in the United States. He is able, therefore, to comprehend and deal fairly with both sides of the great war. A learned historian and a famous scholar, he is qualified by long training to put reason and truth above prejudice in analyzing a momentous but delicate question. These considerations will naturally lend force to Professor Burgess's conclusions, which relieve Germany and the Kaiser from the sole blame for this Armageddon, and place the lion's share of the responsibility on British diplomacy and commercial jealousy, on Russian pan-Slavism and France's desire for revenge.

The case for Germany has been stated before, but by men of German birth or German descent. It is well to have a dispassionate statement from a great scholar who describes himself as "an Anglo-American of the earliest stock" whose "European cousins of to-day are squires and curates in Dorsetshire."

Professor Burgess's letter is long but it is well worth reading in its entirety. Whether one agrees or disagrees with his conclusions, his argument brings out the vast and complex problem of European politics in bold relief and will give the casual student of the war a clearer comprehension of a situation that is absorbing the attention of the entire civilized world.]

THIS is no time and no subject when, or upon which, one should speak lightly, ignorantly, or with prejudice. It is one of the world's most serious moments and the views and sympathies now formed will determine the course of the world's development for many years to come. Heavy indeed is the responsibility which he incurs who would assume the rôle of teacher at this juncture, and it is his first duty to present the credentials which warrant his temerity.

First of all, I am an Anglo-American of the earliest stock and the most pronounced type. I have existed here, potentially or actually, since the year 1638, and my European cousins of to-day are squires and curates in Dorsetshire. Moreover, I admire and revere England, not only because of what she has done for liberty and self-government at home, but because she has borne the white man's burden throughout the world and borne it true and well.

On the other hand, what I possess of higher learning has been won in Germany. I have studied in her famous universities and bear their degrees and in three of them have occupied the teacher's chair. I have lived ten years of my life among her people and enjoy a circle of valued friendships which extends from Königsberg to Strasburg, from Hamburg to Munich and from Osnabrueck to Berchtesgaden, and which reaches through all classes of society from the occupant of the throne to the dweller in the humble cottage. I have known four generations of Hohenzollerns and, of the three generations now extant, have been brought into rather close contact with the members of two of them. While, as to the men of science and letters and politics who have made the Germany of the last half-century, I have known them nearly all and have sat, as student, at the feet of many of them, I must concede that of English descent though I am, still I feel somewhat less at home in the motherland than in the fatherland. Nevertheless, I am conscious of the impulse to treat each with fairness in any account I may attempt to give of their motives, purposes and actions.

It was in the year 1871, in the midst of the Franco-Prussian war, that I first trod the soil of Germania and it was from and with those who fought that war on the German side that I first learned the politics and diplomacy of Europe. Almost from the first day that I took my seat in the lecture room of the university, I imbibed the doctrine that the great national, international and world-purpose of the newly-created German empire was to protect and defend the Teutonic civilization of continental Europe against the oriental Slavic quasi-civilization on the one side, and the decaying Latin civilization on the other.

After a little I began to hear of the "pan-Slavic policy" of Russia and the "*revanche* policy" of France. For a while the latter, the policy of France for retaking Alsace-Lorraine, occupied the chief attention. But in 1876, with the Russian attack upon the Turks, the pan-Slavic policy of Russia, the policy of uniting the Slavs in the German empire, the Austro-Hungarian empire and in the Turkish empire with, and under the sway of, Russia was moved

into the foreground. All western Europe recognized the peril to modern civilization and the powers of Europe assembled at Berlin in 1878 to meet and master it.

The astute British premier, Lord Beaconsfield, supported by the blunt and masterful Bismarck, directed the work of the congress, and the pan-Slavic policy of Russia was given a setback. Russia was allowed to take a little almost worthless territory in Europe and territory of greater value in Asia; Rumania, Servia and Montenegro were made independent states; Bulgaria was given an autonomous administration with a European Christian prince, but under the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish sultan; and the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then almost free zones infested by bandits, were placed under the Austro-Hungarian administration, also subject to the nominal suzerainty of the sultan.

With this the much suspected and dreaded activities of Russia were directed toward Asia, and Russia was now for more than twenty years, from 1880 to 1902, occupied chiefly with the extension of her empire in the Orient. The German empire and the Austro-Hungarian empire were delivered for a moment from this great peril enabled to pursue the line of peaceful development and progress. The greater security to the eastern borders of these states, thus established, also helped to reduce the force of the French spirit of revenge, as the prospect of its satisfaction became more distant.

It was during this period, however, that Germany developed from an agricultural to a manufacturing and commercial community, that is, became a competitor of Great Britain and France, especially Great Britain, in world industry. Her marvelous growth in this direction excited soon the jealousy, the envy and then the hostility of Great Britain. We in the United States, however, reaped great advantage from the industrial and commercial competition between the two great powers and we were amused at the pettishness of Great Britain in representing it as something unfair and illegitimate. We little suspected to what direful results it would lead.

When Edward VII came to the throne, in the year 1901, he saw Great Britain's interests in the Orient threatened by Russia's policy of extension in Asia and her commercial interests throughout the world threatened by the active and intelligent competition of the Germans. He, as all rulers at the moment of ascension, felt the ambition to do something to relieve the disadvantages, to say the least, under which in these respects his country was laboring. He began that course of diplomacy for which he won the title of

peace-lover. The first element of it was the approach to Japan and encouragement to Japan to resist the advance of Russia. This movement culminated in the war between Russia and Japan of the years 1904-1905, in which Russia was worsted and checked in the realization of her Asiatic policy and thrown back upon Europe.

The next element in the diplomacy of the peace-loving king was the fanning into flame again of the *revanche* spirit of France by the arrangement of the quasi-alliance, called the *entente*, between Great Britain, France and Russia, aimed distinctly and avowedly against what was known as the triple alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy, which had for thirty years kept the peace of Europe. The third and last element of this pacific program was the seduction of Italy from the triple alliance, by rousing the irredentist hopes for winning from Austria the Trente district in south Tyrol, which Italy covets.

It is hardly necessary for me to call attention to the extreme peril involved in this so-called peaceful diplomacy to the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. I myself became fully aware of it on June 27, 1905. On that day I had an extended interview with a distinguished British statesman in the House of Commons in London. I was on my way to Wilhelmshoehe to meet His Majesty the German emperor, to arrange with His Majesty the cartel of exchange of educators between universities in the two countries. When I revealed this fact to my host the conversation immediately took a turn which made me feel that a grave crisis was impending in the relations of Great Britain to Germany.

I was so firmly impressed by it, that I felt compelled to call my host's attention to the fact that the great number of American citizens of German extraction, the friendliness of the German states to the cause of the union during our civil war, and the virtual control of American universities by men educated at German universities, would all make for close and continuing friendship between Germany and the United States. When I arrived in Germany, I asked in high quarters for the explanation of my London experience and was told that it was the moment of greatest tension in the Morocco affair, when all feared that, at British instigation, France would grasp the sword.

The larger part of the next two years I spent in Germany as exchange professor in the three universities of Berlin, Bonn and Leipsic, also as lecturer before the bar association at Vienna. Naturally I formed a really vast circle of acquaintances among the leading men of both empires, and the constant topics of con-

versation everywhere, at all times and among all classes, was the growing peril to Germany and Austro-Hungary of the revived pan-Slavic policy and program of Russia, the reinflamed *revanche* of France and Great Britain's intense commercial jealousy.

In the month of August, 1907, I was again at Wilhelmshoehe. The imperial family were at the castle and somewhere about the tenth of the month it became known that King Edward would make the emperor a visit or rather a call, for it was nothing more cordial than that, on the fourteenth.

On the afternoon of the thirteenth, the day before the arrival of the king, I received a summons to go to the castle and remain for dinner with the emperor. When I presented myself, I found the emperor surrounded by his highest officials, Prince Buelow, the chancellor of the empire, Prince Hohenlohe, the imperial governor of Alsace-Lorraine, Prince Radolin, the German ambassador to France, Excellency von Lucanus, the chief of the emperor's civil cabinet, General Count von Huelsen-Haeseller, the chief of the emperor's military cabinet, Field Marshal von Plessen, Chief Court Marshal Count Zu Eulenburg, Lord High Chamberlain Baron von dem Gnessebeck and the *Oberstallmeister*, Baron von Reischach.

The dinner was on the open terrace of the castle looking toward the Hercules heights. At its close the empress and the ladies withdrew into the castle, and the emperor with the gentlemen remained outside. His Majesty rose from his seat in the middle of the table and went to one end of it, followed by Prince von Buelow, Prince Hohenlohe, Prince Radolin and Excellency von Lucanus. His Majesty directed me to join the group, and so soon as we were seated the chief of the civil cabinet turned to me and said that he was afraid that our good friend, President Roosevelt, unwittingly did Europe an injury in mediating between Russia and Japan, since this had turned the whole force of the pan-Slavic program of Russia back upon Europe. All present spoke of the great peril to middle Europe of this change.

Then both the German ambassador to France and the governor of Alsace-Lorraine spoke discouragingly of the great increase of hostile feeling on the part of the French toward Germany, and, finally the part that Great Britain had played and was playing in bringing about both of these movements was dwelt upon with great seriousness mingled with evidences of much uneasiness. King Edward came the next morning at about 10 o'clock and took his departure at about 3 in the afternoon. Whether any remonstrances were made to His Majesty in regard to the great peril, which he,

wittingly or unwittingly, was helping to bring upon middle Europe, I have never known. It seemed to me, however, that after that date he modified considerably his diplomatic activity. But he had sown the seed in well-prepared ground and the harvest was bound to come. The three great forces making for universal war in Europe, namely, the pan-Slavic program of Russia, the *revanche* of France and Great Britain's commercial jealousy of Germany, had been by his efforts brought together. It could not fail to produce the catastrophe. It was only a question of time.

The following year, the year 1908, saw the revolt of the young Turkish party in Constantinople which forced from the sultan the constitution of July, 1908. According to this constitution, all the peoples under the sovereignty of the sultan were called upon to send representatives to the Turkish parliament. Both Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina were nominally subject to that sovereignty, according to the Berlin congress of the powers of 1878. For thirty years Bulgaria had been practically an independent state, and during thirty years Austro-Hungary had poured millions upon millions into Bosnia-Herzegovina, building roads, railroads, hotels, hospitals and schools, establishing the reign of law and order, and changing the population from a swarm of loafers, beggars and bandits to a body of hard-working and prosperous citizens.

What now were Bulgaria and Austro-Hungary to do? Were they to sit quiet and allow the restoration of the actual sovereignty and government of Turkey in and over Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina? Could any rational human being in the world have expected or desired that? They simply, on the self-same day, namely, October 5, 1908, renounced the nominal suzerainty of the sultan, Bulgaria becoming thereby an independent state and Bosnia-Herzegovina remaining what it had actually been since 1878, only with no further nominal relation to the Turkish government. Some American newspapers have called this the robbery of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, and have made out Austro-Hungary to be an aggressor. I have not seen, however, the slightest indication that any of these have the faintest conception of what actually took place. Europe acquiesced in it without much ado. It was said that Russia expressed dissatisfaction, but that Germany pacified her.

Four more years of peace rolled by, during which, in spite of the facts that Austro-Hungary gave a local constitution with representative institutions to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Alsace-Lorraine was admitted to representation in the federal council, as well as the

Reichstag of the German empire, that is, was made substantially a state of the empire, the pan-Slavic schemes of Russia, the French spirit of revenge and the British commercial jealousy, grew and developed and became welded together, until the Triple Entente became virtually a triple alliance directed against the two great states of middle Europe.

Russia had now recovered from the losses of the Japanese war and the internal anarchy which followed it; France had perfected her military organization; Turkey was now driven by the allied Balkan states out of the calculation as an anti-Russian power; Bulgaria, Austro-Hungary's ally, was now completely exhausted by the war with Turkey and that with her Balkan allies, now become enemies; and Great Britain was in dire need of an opportunity to divert the mind of her people away from the internal questions which were threatening to disrupt her constitution.

The practiced ear could hear the buzz of the machinery lifting the hammer to strike the hour of Armageddon. And it struck. The foul murder of the heir of the Hapsburgers set the civilized world in horror and the Austro-Hungarian empire in mourning. In tracing the ramifications of the treacherous plot, the lines were found to run to Belgrade. And when Austro-Hungary demanded inquiry and action by a tribunal in which representatives from Austro-Hungary should sit, Serbia repelled the demand as inconsistent with her dignity. Believing that inquiry and action by Serbia alone would be no inquiry and no action, Austro-Hungary felt obliged to take the chastisement of the criminals and their abettors into its own hands.

Then Russia intervened to stay the hand of Austro-Hungary and asked the German emperor to mediate between Austro-Hungary and Serbia. The emperor undertook the task. But while in the midst of it he learned that Russia was mobilizing troops upon his own border. He immediately demanded of Russia that this should cease, but without avail or even reply. He protested again with the like result. Finally, at midnight on the 31st of July, his ambassador at St. Petersburg laid the demand before the Russian minister of foreign affairs that the Russian mobilization must cease within twelve hours, otherwise Germany would be obliged to mobilize.

At the same time the emperor directed his ambassador in Paris to inquire of the French government whether, in case of war between Germany and Russia, France would remain neutral. The time given expired without any explanation or reply from Russia and without any guarantee or assurance from France. The federal

council of the German empire, consisting of representatives from the twenty-five states and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine, then authorized the declaration of war against Russia, which declaration applied, according to the sound principle of international jurisprudence, to all her allies refusing to give guarantee to their neutrality.

As France could move faster than Russia, the Germans turned the force of their arms upon her. They undertook to reach her by way of what they supposed to be the lines of least resistance. These lay through the neutral states of Belgium and Luxemburg. They claimed that France had already violated the neutrality of both by invasion and by the flying of their war airships over them, and they marched their columns into both.

Belgium resisted. The Germans offered to guarantee the independence and integrity of Belgium and indemnify her for all loss or injury if she would not further resist the passage of German troops over her soil. She still refused and turned to Great Britain. Great Britain now intervened, and in the negotiations with Germany demanded as the price of her neutrality that Germany should not use her navy against either France or Russia and should desist from her military movements through Belgium, and when the Germans asked to be assured that Great Britain herself would respect the neutrality of Belgium throughout the entire war on the basis of the fulfilment of her requirements by Germany, the British government made no reply, but declared war on Germany.

And so we have the alignment. Germany, Austria and probably Bulgaria on one side, Russia, Servia, Montenegro, Belgium, France and England on the other, and rivers of blood have already flowed. And we stand gaping at each other, and each is asking the others who did it. Whose is the responsibility, and what will be the outcome? Now if I have not already answered the former question I shall not try to answer it. I shall leave each one, in view of the account I have given, to settle the question with his own judgment and conscience. I will only say that, as for myself, I thank John Morley and John Burns, the man of letters and the man of labor, that they have rent the veil of diplomatic hypocrisy and have washed their hands clean from the stain of this blunder crime.

Finally, as to the outcome, not much can yet be said. There is nothing so idle as prophecy, and I do not like to indulge in it. Whether the giant of middle Europe will be able to break the bonds, which in the last ten years have been wound about him and under whose smarting cut he is now writhing, or the fetters will be

riveted tighter, cannot easily be foretold. But, assuming the one or the other, we may speculate with something more of probable accuracy regarding the political situation which will result.

The triumph of Germany-Austro-Hungary-Bulgaria can never be so complete as to make any changes in the present map of Europe. All that that could effect would be the momentary abandonment of the Russian pan-Slavic program, and relegation to dormancy of the French *revanche* and the stay of Great Britain's hand from the destruction of German commerce. On the other hand, the triumph of Great Britain-Russia-France cannot fail to give Russia the mastery over the continent of Europe and restore Great Britain to her sovereignty over the seas. These two great powers, who now already between them possess almost half the whole world, would then, indeed, control the destinies of the earth.

Well may we draw back in dismay before such a consummation. The "rattle of the saber" would then be music to our ears in comparison with the crack of the Cossocks knout and the clanking of Siberian chains, while the burden of taxation which we would be obliged to suffer in order to create and maintain the vast navy and army necessary for the defense of our territory and commerce throughout the world against those gigantic powers with their oriental ally, Japan, would sap our wealth, endanger our prosperity and threaten the very existence of republican institutions.

This is no time for shallow thought or flippant speech. In a public sense it is the most serious moment of our lives. Let us not be swayed in our judgment by prejudice or minor considerations. Men and women like ourselves are suffering and dying for what they believe to be the right, and the world is in tears. Let us wait and watch patiently and hope sincerely that all this agony is a great labor-pain of history, and that there shall be born through it a new era of prosperity, happiness and righteousness for all mankind.

THE EUROPEAN WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

PANSLAVISM.

WAR, a most terrible war, is now raging in Europe, and the most powerful nations have combined to break Germany's ascendancy. Germany is threatened by Russia from the east, by France from the west, and her extended commerce on the seas in all parts of the world has become a prey to Great Britain and Japan.

And why? What is the cause of the war? Because a short time ago the heir apparent to the throne of Austria and his wife were assassinated by a Servian with arms from the Servian arsenal.

Germany has nothing to do with the incident that occasioned the war, but we must know that this particular occurrence is a symptom only of the real reason. The assassination of a prince and his wife might have passed by and be forgotten if there did not exist a condition which made the war an unavoidable necessity. Though the occasion is an incident of secondary importance, it throws light on the political situation of Europe.

Austria-Hungary is a dual state represented by a double headed eagle as its coat of arms, and the Austrian emperor, formerly a Roman emperor of German nationality, is the monarch. In addition to the German Austrians and the Hungarians, the Magyars, there are a number of other nationalities most of which are Slavic: the Czechs in Bohemia, the Slavonians south of Hungary, then the Bosnians, the inhabitants of Herzegovina, the Poles in Galicia, and also some Servians. The Saxons of Transylvania again are Teutons surrounded by Hungarians, Slavs and Rumanians. It would be easy enough to solve the problem of the races if they lived in separate communities, but the trouble is that they live in the same countries and cities, and there are for instance about as many

German Bohemians as Czechs living in Bohemia, and the Saxon Transylvanian farmers employ as farm hands Slavs and other races, among them also Gipsies.

Austria is about as large as Germany and France, but it is weak on account of its lack of internal unity and the hatred among the different races. The Austrian army can not develop the efficiency which other armies possess where the same language is spoken by all the troops.

The race problem in Austria is a calamity but it becomes worse by the propaganda of Pan Slavism, which means that all the Slavs should be united under the most powerful Slavic state, Russia. Pan Slavism would ultimately lead to the ruin of Austria and to the suppression of the German elements now sprinkled over all the Austrian dominions. Pan Slavism has been advocated mainly by Russia, whose agents have been at work all over the world, also in non-Slavic countries, in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, India, China, and even in the United States. The rise of Slavism is proclaimed by them as the power to come; such is at least the intention of Russia, and Peter the Great, the founder of modern Russia, has sketched in his last will and testament a plan to expand Russia and make her the mistress of the world—a bequest holy to the patriotic Russian and a danger to European civilization.

The Slavs are upon the whole a hot-blooded and excitable race. They are good-natured but often thoughtless; they live in the present and trouble little about the future. Their money affairs are usually in great disorder; they do not save and are quite irresponsible. The most numerous of them are the Russians, and we may fairly well say that among the Slavs, the Poles are the most intelligent, while the Balkan Slavs are least civilized. The Russians are easy going and lack judgment. They are mostly extremists, either slavishly submissive to authority or nihilists and anarchists, unamenable to law and order. The leaders of Russia, that clique which runs the government of which the Czar is a helpless tool, are unscrupulous. They are descendants of Germanic invaders, but Russified, and their helpers mostly recruit themselves from German immigrants.

The Poles are not friends of the Russians. They know the government too well. The Poles live in those portions of Europe which were formerly inhabited by the Goths and it is more than probable that the common people are the remnant of the old Gothic population. We begin to understand the migratory movement of Europe better now than before and it seems that these expeditions

of conquest were never what historians formerly thought them to be—emigrations of whole peoples. It appears that the emigrants sold the acres which they owned, and the others who remained were too weak in number to resist invaders. The aristocracy of Poland is a well-built brunette race, Slavic in temper and rather small in stature, like the French in character, also jolly, amiable and especially shiftless, while the common people are blue-eyed, blond, tall and often thrifty. Are we justified in drawing conclusions from these facts? Are the two classes of different descent?

When Poland became Russian, the Poles became acquainted with Russian rule; their treatment has been approximately the same as the Irish have received from the English. Though Slavs themselves, they could never become enthusiastic over the Pan-slavic ideal.

The Finlanders and Germans of the Baltic provinces, perhaps also the intellectual classes of the Russians proper, have plenty of experience with broken promises of the Russian government, and Russian intrigues have done much harm even in the countries of Russia's friends. Think for instance of the Dreyfus-Esterhazy embroglio in France, which implicates Russia, not Germany, in the spy system, and also of the Russian attempts to alienate Asiatics from England.

If Austria breaks down, Germany will be surrounded by enemies on all sides. If the German portion of Austria together with Hungary should become a part of the Pan-slavic empire, the German race would have little chance of survival, especially as France has not yet forgotten her defeat of 1870-71, and is constantly clamoring for revenge. Under these conditions it is but a policy of self-preservation that the Germans are determined to support Austria against the Pan-slavism of Russia. The triumph of Pan-slavism implies the downfall of Germany.

The horrible death of the archduke and his wife was not due to the deed of a fanatic individual, it expresses the sentiment of the Servian nation which seems to have been supported by the Servian authorities. Yea, there are indications that these methods of procedure have been instigated by Russian agents and Austria insisted that investigations should bring out the truth. The conspiracy was well supplied with money and can not have been limited to a few private individuals. The report reads:

"So well laid was the plot that there was little chance of escape. Had the pistol shots failed to take effect, another bomb was ready to be thrown in the next block, while under the table at which the

archduke was to lunch two others were discovered. In the chimney of the Duchess of Hohenberg's apartments still another bomb was found, while the railway over which it was expected the imperial party would leave Sarajevo was literally mined with dynamite."

The roots of the conspiracy spread into Serbia, and Austria insisted that an investigation should bring out the truth.

Servia promised an investigation, but since Austria did not trust the Servians to be impartial, Austria issued an ultimatum demanding Austrian representatives in court. This, however, was indignantly refused, and the refusal strengthened the suspicion that both the Servian and Russian governments were co-guilty of the criminal conspiracy. While Germany recognized the justice of the Austrian demand, Russia supported the Servian cause and the result was war—a war of the Slav against the Teuton, the object being the Panslavistic ideal of Russia, and in this war Russia was supported by France and England, according to the Triple Entente.

According to the British *White Book*, Sir Edward Grey sided with Servia in its refusal of Number Five of the Austrian ultimatum saying that it "would be hardly consistent with the maintenance of Servia's independent sovereignty if it (Austria's demand) were to mean that Austria-Hungary was to be invested with the right to appoint officials who would have authority within the frontiers of Servia."

That sounds very fair; but would Sir Edward use the same argument if the Prince of Wales had been assassinated and some little nationality on the moral level of Servia were for good reasons suspected of having helped in the deed and plotting renewals of the crime so as to endanger the British government and its royal family? That would have been different.

How can any one defend Russia's protection of assassins, or who can glance over the history of these events without suspecting the leaders of Panslavism of having instigated the deed? But that England rushed at once to the support of the methods of Panslavism is incomprehensible except on the assumption that England favored the plan of a most stupendous war in which Germany's prosperity, her manhood, her civilization, would be buried under the armies of the invading Russ.

Panslavism and the Russian Czar are to be helped by the French, and both are to be supported by the British fleet. The ruinous march of the Gallic foe in the time of Napoleon the First, about one hundred and nine years ago, is to be repeated but is being made more effective by the Slavic ally. What reason have the English

for joining such a war? They will rid themselves of an inconvenient competitor; and they feel safe in undertaking the war, for they believe success can be gained without much risk to Albion.

The Kaiser is a peaceful man. If any one deserves the Nobel peace prize, it is he. Since his ascent to the throne he has preserved the peace of Europe, often under the most difficult conditions. The bellicose party of Germany has often been disgusted with the Kaiser's policy and called him William the Pacific. If he declares war, war must be inevitable indeed—and what a war! He has to face the most powerful nation, Russia, with its army of uncounted and almost uncountable numbers, of enormous resources, unexhausted and inexhaustible. In Russia human lives are not only plentiful but cheap, and Russia is supported as a matter of course by France with her well-drilled impetuous men, both in turn being encouraged by England, the undisputed mistress of the seas!

Germany is supported by Austria-Hungary whose weakness is well known. Who can believe that Germany wanted a war of such dimensions, that she has provoked it, or ventured into it for lust of fame or with an expectation of conquest? What can she gain and how can she be benefited even if she keeps her enemies out of the fatherland? And yet her enemies blame the emperor for being responsible for the war!

Germany has been cut off from the rest of the world. America has not received any news of the war except from London, Paris, Petrograd (the new name of St. Petersburg) and Rome. We are informed that the Germans are beaten, and yet they advance. There is some news from Berlin, via Copenhagen or Rotterdam, of recent date, which shows the progress of the war in a very different light.

The murder of the archduke is not the real or only reason of the war; it is the symptom of Pan Slavism, and Pan Slavism is the reason why Russia has gone to war. But there are two other reasons: one is the French lust for revenge, the other England's determination not to allow Germany to appear in the field of commerce as her rival, which from the English standpoint means that Germany is England's "first and immediate enemy."

Great Britain has declared war on the ground that Germany would not respect the neutrality of Belgium, but the real reason lies deeper and appears in the anti-German policy of the British government which has established the principle that for every keel the emperor lays down, England will lay down two, and Sir Arthur

Conan Doyle says: "The first fruit of the new German fleet was the Entente Cordiale."

A BREACH OF NEUTRALITY.

Germany's breach of neutrality in Belgium was England's official and ostensible reason for war, but even in England the feeling prevails that this is a mere pretext, not the real and ultimate motive, for England herself has too often broken neutrality in her past history to take a breach of neutrality seriously.

Think of the unjustifiable bombardment of Copenhagen by Nelson, of the annexation of Dutch colonies, especially the seizure of Capetown and other unexpected attacks upon peaceful nations. Who believes that the English would have declared war on France, if soon after the beginning of the war the French had broken through Belgium to outflank the German army? Did Great Britain find fault with Japan for disregarding the neutrality of China? The United States too belongs to the signatory friends of the Chinese empire, and we have reason to dislike the Japanese policy, but we have preserved our attitude of "watchful waiting."

At the beginning of the Boer War, the English broke the neutrality of the Portuguese colony, the state of East Africa, by landing their troops in Delagoa Bay solely because the British army wanted to save going the roundabout way through British territory. There was no other excuse, no urgent need, no threat that the Boers had conspired with the Portuguese, or could break neutrality later on. In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., s. v. "Neutrality," Vol. XXXI, p. 131) the incident is called "an important precedent."*

What an atrocity of Germany not only to begin hostilities against France at once as soon as the war was plainly in sight, but even to trespass on Belgian territory and become guilty of a terrible breach of neutrality! What an atrocity! But there is one advantage for the English. As a result they were furnished with an excuse to justify their declaration of war, and the Germans, at the same time, had also to face the army of Belgium.

There is no need of discussing the atrocity of a breach of neutrality, because it is an acknowledged principle that in case of war the natural law of self-preservation demands of every power the completion of the war that has arisen or is about to arise, with the utmost dispatch and by the easiest method. In the present case the

* The author of the article is Dr. Thomas Barclay, vice-president of the International Law Association.

Germans have carried the war through Luxemburg and Belgium because that was to them the straightest and safest way of attack. They would have been satisfied to have the Belgian assent to their march through the country and would have gladly paid every penny for food and forage or occasional destruction of property; but the Belgians refused and joined the French.

We do not know all the secret occurrences of European politics, but the probability is that the Belgians had agreed to allow the French to march through Belgium without any objection at whatever moment it would suit them; and that the Belgians intended to favor the French is fully proved through facts, mainly through the presence of French officers, prior to the declaration of war, in Liège, where they helped their Belgian neighbors to modernize the Belgian fortifications and acted as general advisers for the approaching hostilities.

Under the consideration that Belgium would be drawn into the war at a moment when it would suit the French best, it was preferable to the Germans to anticipate the French move and take Belgium first, and it is probable that the Germans were prepared to find the Belgians absolutely on the side of the French.

The neutrality treaty of Belgium had been signed by England, France and Prussia, not Germany, for the present German empire did not yet exist at the time. But since Germany has inherited Prussia's policy, we are told that it was very objectionable for Germany to become guilty of this breach of neutrality.

Indeed? But why should Germany keep this treaty concerning the Belgian neutrality under conditions so obviously changed? When Germany recognized this treaty, the German authorities believed that Belgium would try to be truly neutral and the hostility of Belgium seemed to be excluded. On the other hand the mere suspicion of a Franco-Belgian *entente* is sufficient to attack France through the territory of the Belgian frontier. There is no diplomat who denies the established right of any power to break all peace treaties in case of war—especially if conditions have changed to such an extent that to keep them would be dangerous.¹

The duty of neutrality toward a buffer state like Belgium presupposes in its turn also the duty of a strict neutrality on the part of Belgium. Belgium has not maintained a rigorous neutrality but concluded a friendship with the Triple Entente, especially with France, and this canceled Germany's obligations. Never-

¹Note here Mr. Roosevelt's criticism of peace treaties which under serious conditions will have to be broken or might become disastrous.

theless, Germany was ready even then to respect Belgian independence, provided Belgium would allow the German army a free passage through the country into France. If England had been fair and if she had first of all considered the welfare of Belgium, she would have advised Belgium to abstain from war under these circumstances and to be satisfied with a formal protest. The attitude of Belgium during the war has justified German suspicions.

The German side of the question is set forth in a German telegram addressed to Prince Lichnowsky, the German ambassador at London:*

"Please impress upon Sir E. Grey that the German army could not be exposed to French attack across Belgium, *which was planned according to absolutely unimpeachable information.*"² Germany had consequently to disregard Belgian neutrality, it being for her a question of life or death to prevent French advance."

Why, when Germany, as stated in this message, claimed to know that the French were about to break Belgian neutrality, did not England then guarantee Belgian neutrality? Germany might not have believed England, but it would have been worth proving whether England was serious on this point of preserving the independence of Belgium. However, England gave no such assurance in time, for the declaration of Sir Edward Grey came too late.

Afterwards Sir Edward Grey declared in his answer to the German Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg that England would have fought France to save Belgium but even Englishmen will find it hard to believe this statement of their leading statesman.

Would the king of Belgium be ready to deny on his royal word of honor the fact that French officers had visited Belgium and had been in collusion with Belgian officers? Facts are becoming known which indicate that even the English themselves have broken neutrality. Dr. David S. Schaff of Allegheny, Pa., one of the leaders of Protestantism in the United States, who like myself had been a friend of England, writes to *The Independent* (Sept. 21, 1914) as follows:

"On August 1 the British Ambassador was asked a second time whether England would remain neutral in case Germany respected the neutrality of Belgium and guaranteed the integrity of France and also her colonies. Here England again said she must be free to act.

"And, if the letter of the staff correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* in London is to be accepted for the statement that Lord Kitchener was in Belgium two weeks before the war began

* Quoted from the British *White Book*.

² Italics are ours.

'to make dispositions for English troops'—was not Belgian neutrality broken in principle?

"An American student just returned tells me that he saw two trains of prisoners and wounded passing through Marburg the first days of the siege of Liège and Frenchmen were mingled with the Belgians, having been there before the declaration of war.

"I was intensely adverse to Germany at first, threw up my hat when England declared war, but I have changed my mind. Mr. Carnegie's second dispatch to the London *Times* is in the right direction."

Both France and England had broken Belgian neutrality before the Germans. What right have they to complain about it?

In the present instance the Germans did not do the English government the favor of being beaten as easily as was expected of them, and as a result official explanations have been proclaimed, how England had "the choice only between war or dishonor." and "was bound to fight for Belgian independence." Sir David Lloyd-George in a reference to the case of Serbia, quoting Czar Nicolas as having boasted to the emperor of Austria, "I will tear your ramshackle empire limb from limb," and, added Sir David, "he is doing it." These are the *ipsissima verba* of Great Britain's chancellor of the exchequer!

It is commonly believed that England stirs others to war but is careful to keep out of it herself.

In 1864 the English encouraged Denmark to resist Prussia and Austria on account of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Danes, relying on English assurances refused any compromise, the result being that they lost the duchies. A Danish friend of mine expressed himself very vigorously in condemning British statescraft, saying that the warfare of Prussia was square and honest, but the attitude of England was unpardonable. The English did not want Prussia to lay the foundation of a naval power, so they proposed to protect the Danes, but they did not do it. If the English, said my Danish friend, were not willing to fulfill their promises they ought not to have made them.

The British *White Book* gives us a psychological insight into the manner in which the Russian minister induced Sir Edward Grey to join the French-Russian alliance. We read there that according to Russian opinion, the Germans would never believe that the English would fight. The English had supported Serbia in diplomacy, and the Russians hinted that after all the English would not be credited with making good by joining the fight, and it seems that

the Russian suggestion helped to bring the English into line. The Russians remembered that the English had encouraged the Japanese to fight Russia but the English kept out of the fray.

A stray notice in the North German Gazette states on the authority of the Belgian Ambassador at St. Petersburg that Russia did not venture into the war against Germany until England had given a definite promise to take an active part in it.

This time the English meant war and were ready to join France and Russia. England's intentions can not have been very pacific. for according to a statement published in the French paper *Gil Blas* of February 25, 1913, England had stored in the fortress of Maubeuge large deposits of ammunition for the English artillery in case of a Continental war. Maubeuge is situated between Paris and the Belgian frontier, and what was the purpose of this unusual act?

There is another objection hurled at the Germans; it is this: that they should not have started the war and should not have mobilized their army before the first enemy had dared to trespass on German territory. But such criticism can be made only by people who do not know that priority of attack may decide the whole war and the advantage of a position may save the lives of hundreds of thousands. If the Germans had waited until the French had joined the Belgians and surprised the Germans by a sudden and unexpected attack on Treves and Cologne, the first situation of the war would have presented greater difficulties to the general staff of the Kaiser, and being confronted by other foes in the east might easily have led to ultimate defeat.

We ought to add here that later reports announce that Russians trespassed upon Prussian territory on the day before the declaration of war; and how did they behave! One Russian general, now a prisoner in German hands, had the whole male population of a Prussian village slain, and some Russian officers had adopted the custom of carrying on their persons the fingers of their slain enemies, both male and female.

It has become apparent that the Germans anticipated the French plan of campaign. A newspaper clipping on the subject reads thus:

"We may assume that the French, just as did the Germans, during times of peace prepared a complete plan of campaign, and when hostilities began they naturally attempted to carry out this plan, in order to be able to fight their battles on territory selected by themselves, which always means a considerable advantage over the adversary.

"That such a plan was in existence is certain, and, as has been

declared repeatedly from Berlin since the beginning of the war, the German general staff has proofs that this plan not only included a march through the alleged neutral territory of Belgium, but also that a real military convention with the Belgian government was in existence under which Belgium granted free passage through her country to the French, but was going to resist by force a passage of the German troops, the French promising help in such a case. If this original plan of the French general staff had been realized, Germany actually would have been in a very bad position. Progress of the French to the Rhine could not have been prevented and the German troops certainly would have been compelled to evacuate Alsace-Lorraine.

"Contemporaneous with the passage of the French forces through Belgium an attack upon Alsace and later upon Lorraine had also been planned.

"The grand success of the German army is based upon the fact that its leaders succeeded in throwing over the whole plan of campaign so splendidly elaborated by the French, by appearing first on the place where the Frenchmen intended to be in Belgium. The French mobilization probably did not proceed quite as smoothly as the German.

"For, instead of bringing help to their hard pressed allies in Belgium, their southern neighbors kept back for weeks and gave sufficient time to the Germans to make that country the base of their operations. The advance of the Germans showed itself as so strong that the approaching French armies and reinforcements were not able to withstand the attacks, but were pushed back step by step.

"The knowledge of the French plan of campaign possessed by the German general staff, the preparedness of the German army and the irresistible momentum of the German masses put into the field suddenly ended the hopes of the French general staff, right at the beginning of the war, for the realization of their own plans and indirectly enforced very soon the evacuation of Upper Alsace by the French, without any larger battles at that point.

"Notwithstanding all the apologies for the facts, as they have been offered by the French commander in chief, Gen. Joffre, the French have been restricted to a defensive war policy at nearly all points right from the beginning of the war. The Germans have fought their battles exactly where they intended to, have driven their opponents where they wished to and will succeed in further driving them to a place where they can defeat them in the easiest manner. Upon the execution of this plan the splendid success of the

German arms is founded; upon the inability of the adversary to see beforehand the moves of the enemy or to cross them, the reverses of the French find their explanation."

THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW.

The English people remained strictly neutral during the war between the French and the Germans in 1870-71, and if there was any sympathy in Albion it was rather on the side of the Germans, not only because the English and the Germans are closely akin in blood, in civilization and in religion, but also because the two ruling houses are intimately related. The present Kaiser is the grandson of Queen Victoria. In the nineteenth century a war between the two nations would have seemed impossible, but the sentiment has changed in the twentieth century, not because either the English or the German people are much different from what they formerly were, but because a propaganda has been started to sow the seeds of hatred, of jealousy, of envy and discord in England and to denounce Germany's growing power as a menace to England. This propaganda had its origin and impetus in influential circles, and may have started in the government itself. One thing is certain: it took a firm hold on King Edward VII who favored the anti-German policy and prepared the way for a war of extermination to be carried out by Russia, France and England. The English propaganda found an echo in Germany, and old Bismarck after his discharge sounded the alarm.

The anti-German policy in England was first proposed in articles that appeared in the English *Saturday Review* in 1897, and it has made headway ever since. In order to represent the English tendency that has led to the war through the policy of the anti-German party of England we have republished the article "England and Germany" from the *Saturday Review* (London) of September 11, 1897. It is apparently inspired by the British government and its tendency has gradually become the guiding principle of English policy. Official representatives of the British government enunciated this plan again and again until the public became accustomed to it, and now it has brought on the war.

We need not mention that "the wise man of Europe" referred to in the mooted article is Bismarck in his advanced age. Bismarck foresaw the British danger and warned the Germans. On the other hand we learn from the *Saturday Review* article that while in February 1896 the idea of regarding Germany as "the first and immediate enemy of England" was considered "an eccentricity," the

propaganda against the Germans spread quickly, so that a month later the German flag was hissed at in London. Afterwards the anti-German movement led to the Triple Entente, formulating the program for the present war.

True, Germany has become a competitor of England. German industry has gradually developed into a rival of English industry, yea has even outdone it in many branches, and the Germans have built up a navy which is intended to protect their trade. The German navy is nearly half as strong as the English navy and if it continues to grow it may by and by be equal to it. The British government, backed by public opinion, decided that that must be prevented, for the British have so far lived up to their popular hymn "Britannia, Rule the Waves" which is the indispensable condition of a dominion over the world. Now Germany comes in as a rival trying to gain her share of the world market. That is a sin and should not be tolerated. Therefore German progress must be checked in time in order to preserve Britannia's monopoly in commerce. England still rules the waves and England can fight Germany, as our English author trusts, "without tremendous risk, and without doubt of the issue."

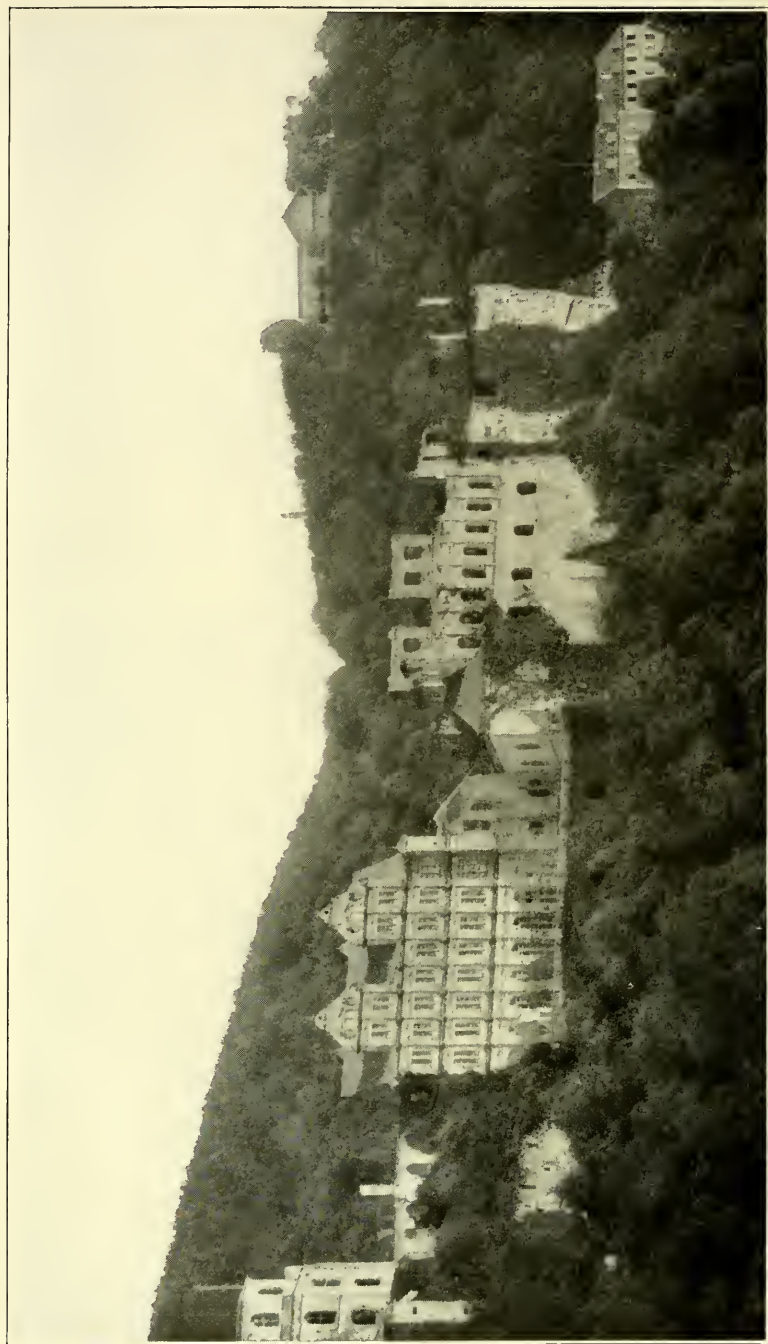
This means in plain language that the English own the world of commerce and will not share its dominion with anybody. Our author declares that "If Germany were extinguished to-morrow, the day after to-morrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer."

This policy is not only egotistical and barbarous, not only unfair and narrow, but it is also stupid. It is the logic of a villain and the error that so often props up the arguments of a criminal.

Public opinion in England to-day finds no fault with Germany as a center of art and science. The Germany of Goethe and Schiller in the days of her political weakness was harmless, but modern Germany in its political strength, Prussianism, militarism, imperialism, is most objectionable. Nor should Germany build up industries and increase her commerce. Germany would be quite delightful if it had no army, if it were without a navy, in short if it were defenseless. But do not let us forget that Germany has learned by long and bitter experience that she needs Prussian leadership, she needs an army. Undoubtedly she would abolish her militarism if her neighbors, the French and the Russians, would disarm, and if the English would sell their navy as old iron. The English want their navy to be bigger than any two other navies together, but Germany should remain defenseless.



MONUMENT OF THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIK.



RUINS OF HEIDELBERG CASTLE.

Devastated in 1688 by the French under Melac, previous to the establishment of militarism.

We grant that Germany's progress is a danger to England. So far England has enjoyed an undisputed dominance in the world of commerce, and she has gained her advantages by her progressive methods and by unrivaled energy; but in her safe control of the seas she has become self-sufficient and stagnant. England is at present conspicuously unprogressive. The proper method of combating rivals in the field of industry and commerce does not consist in the extermination of the new competitors but by beating them with their own weapons. England should have raised herself from her lethargy, should have followed the example of Germany, should have built schools or reformed her antiquated system of education in order to fit her citizens to compete with German industry. That, however, would be too much to expect from the English. They want leisure and prefer their traditional stagnancy, still believing that the best policy is not to aspire to surpass a rival, not to excel him, but to call him an "enemy" and to conquer him by exterminating him.

Our English author knows that the issue between England and Germany is a commercial question. He says: "Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession: must they not fight for two hundred million pounds of commerce?"

According to Dr. Richet, statistician of the University of Paris, Germany has an annual export of \$331,684,212 and an import of \$188,963,071; Austria an export of \$23,320,696 and an import of \$19,192,414. All this is stopped and will remain stopped through the war so long as Great Britain has command of the seas. But British trade does not suffer any direct interference. That is a great advantage for England; but is it really so great as to involve the world in a most tremendous war and risk serious reverses?

The Italian senator, Count San Martino, was present at a dinner on July 22 where he met Sir Edward Grey and Sir William Edward Goschen and heard the remark made that a civil war could not be avoided except through a war with Germany. The statement was published recently in the *Giornale d'Italia* and similar contentions have been made in other papers. Did the Count let the cat out of the bag? Let us hope that even if there be an element of truth in the statement, the ministers merely noted a convenient coincidence, and did not follow a preconceived plan.

THE GERMAN CAUSE.

And what are the Germans fighting for? Our British author tells us that for the sake of securing these two hundred million

pounds Germany must be exterminated. That appeals to the thoughtless, but what does it mean for the Germans? It implies that the Germans have to fight for their very lives, and the Germans know it. They feel that they fight for their civilization, for their right to labor and to earn a fair living, for progress and for the right to progress, for the right to do better than others, for the right to play a prominent part in the development of humanity, for their homes, their hearths, their liberty, their manhood, their national existence, for "all they have and are."

There have been so many lies in French and English papers, e. g., that Dr. Liebknecht, the Social Democrat, had been shot, that a revolution of the Social Democrats was impending, that the Kaiser's throne was tottering; but the reverse is true. The liberals, like all the political opponents of the government and of the aristocratic or conservative faction, stand by the Kaiser in their faithful devotion to the German fatherland, and the *furor teutonicus* comes *unisono* from all ranks. In glancing over journals of a recent date we find a poem coming from the pen of G. Tschirn of Breslau, a freethinker whose political confession approaches more nearly that of a democrat than that of a monarchist, a man who is against militarism in any form, an advocate of the ideal of peace on earth; but he sees that Germany is fighting for her existence and so he calls his poem "The Battle Wrath of the Friend of Peace," which ends thus:

"Jetzt gilt es, Notwehr zu üben In tapfer-tapferstem Streit Für alles, was wir nur lieben, Was das Dasein zum Leben erst weiht.	[Onward with courage to battle Into the heart of the strife, Defending all that is dearest, All that will consecrate life.
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"Drum auch durch Donner und Blitze Schreitet der Friedensheld, Dass er wahre, rette und schütze Unsere Zukunftswelt."	So afar, 'mid fire and slaughter The guardian of peace will raise His standard, defending, preserving Our homes for the oncoming days.]
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The Social Democrats are against militarism and imperialism and oppose war as a matter of principle, but in the present case, they have declared in support of the government, because they are opposed to the Czar and his friends. They do not believe that the Russians and their allies take up arms to bring them deliverance from the yoke of social injustice, and they propose to fight them, not to uphold the Kaiser but to defend their homes.

Germany, faced by the danger which the Triple Entente has brought upon her, has risen in all her greatness, and holy wrath

has come over her. Germany is seized with the determination to meet her foes and die rather than yield, a spirit which is well expressed in the following lines:

"For all we have and are,
For all our children's fate,
Stand up and meet the war—
The Hun is at the gate.

"Our world has passed away,
In wantonness o'erthrown;
There's nothing left to-day
But steel and fire and stone.

"Though all we know depart,
The old commandments stand.
In courage keep your heart,
In strength lift up your hand.

"Once more we hear the word
That sickened earth of old:
No law except the sword,
Unsheathed and uncontrolled.

"Once more it knits mankind,
Once more the nations go
To meet and break and bind
A crazed and driven foe.

"Comfort, content, delight—
The ages' slow-bought gain—
They shriveled in a night.
Only ourselves remain

"To face the naked days
In silent fortitude,
Through perils and dismays,
Renewed and renewed.

"Though all we made depart,
The old commandments stand.
In patience keep your heart,
In strength lift up your hand.

"No easy hopes or lies
Shall bring us to our goal;
But iron sacrifice
Of body, will, and soul.

"There's but one task for all,
For each one life to give.
Who stands if freedom fall?
Who dies if freedom live?

These lines have been written by Rudyard Kipling, and are meant to stir English patriotism, yet so far they have not lured many volunteers to the British colors. In quoting them we have changed but one word in the last line, inserting "freedom" where the English poet writes "England." Otherwise the poem might serve the purpose of any nation that is ready to defend her highest ideals, her liberty and her very existence, but it does not fit the English. The hymn might have been sung by the Boers when attacked by the British army, it might inspire the Hindus when asserting their independence of the English yoke, it might express the patriotism of the many Irish who laid down their lives for Ireland; it might have been written by an American minute-man when joining George Washington in his fight for independence, but it seems out of place in the mouth of a British poet, who ought rather to have sung in the present case that they will fight

"For the market which we want,
For two hundred million pounds,
For the ruin of other commerce—
For *this* our bugle sounds."

The war was not begun by England for the sake of protecting

the English nation, but for ruining the trade of brethren on the European continent, and it was begun because victory seemed easy.

The English have gradually found out during the course of the war that the Germans are not so easily conquered and that the tables might be turned. The English wanted the Hun to appear at the gate of Germany, but suddenly the possibility rises that the Germans may knock at the gates of England, and now the German is called the Hun.

Some time ago the right to hold slaves was declared "liberty" by the slave-holders of the United States, and the Romans called the suppression of a country under the Roman yoke its pacification. When the Celts were conquered the Roman historian used the phrase *Gallia pacata*. In the same sense the English poet laureate speaks of England as "Thou peacemaker," and this variety of peace-making is called "glory" by the old French conqueror while in England it is praised as "honor." The Germans having become ambitious to develop a nationality of their own, independent of England, are regarded as disturbers of the peace and are called "slaves of monarch Ambition." Here is the poem of Robert Bridges who complains that England is too pleasure-loving. Her monopoly is endangered and she will have to fight for the liberty of owning slaves. He says:

"Thou careless, awake!
Thou peacemaker, fight!
Stand, England, for honor,
And God guard the right.

"Thy mirth lay aside,
Thy cavil and play,
The foe is upon thee
And grave is the day.

"The Monarch, Ambition,
Has harnessed his slaves,
But the folk of the ocean
Are free as the waves.

"For peace thou art armed,
Thy freedom to hold,
Thy courage as iron,
Thy good faith as gold.

"Through fire, air and water
Thy trial must be,
But they that love life best
Die gladly for thee.

"The love of their mothers
Is strong to command;
The fame of their fathers
Is might to their hand.

"Much suffering shall cleanse thee,
But thou through the flood
Shalt win to salvation
To beauty through blood.

"Up, careless, awake!
Yea, peacemakers, fight!
England stands for honor,
God defend the right."

We say "Amen! God guard the right and God defend the right." But we do not believe that in the present war the right is on the English side.

It is difficult to say when the English have waged a righteous war. Was the Opium War in China righteous? And how shall we ex-

cuse General Gordon's suppression of Chinese Christianity,² called the T'ai Ping movement? Was the Boer war undertaken for the protection of English homes, and English liberty? Was the treatment of Ireland fair? Was the subjection of India an enterprise for English honor? And what shall we say of General Cornwallis's Hessian soldiers in the English colonies of North America?

THE FOES OF GERMANY.

The plan of the English government has for a long time been to make other nations carry on wars intended to benefit Great Britain. A short time ago this method caused them to use Japan for the purpose of humiliating Russia, and, soon after the Russo-Japanese war, the same principle led to the formation of the Triple Entente between England, Russia and France.

In her anxiety for revenge France has looked for an ally ever since 1871, and has courted Russia, although the French know very well that Russia is in every respect antagonistic to French ideals of republicanism, liberty and progress. Yet it was a foregone determination that should Russia ever attack Germany, France would fall upon her enemy from behind.

Russia is an inveterate enemy of England, for Russia endangers the spread of English influence by subtle intrigue so characteristic of Russian policy, which has shown itself in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and China, and even in India. It was considered very clever of Edward VII to make Russia join England, and, in company with France, to establish the Triple Entente. The English people should have known that Russia would never abandon her intrigues against England, and it is excluded that she would help to establish England's supremacy on sea; as a matter of fact the Russians have never ceased to continue their anti-British policy. Russia meant to use the English for her own advantage, just as Edward VII hoped to make Russia subservient to England. The English have not yet learned that smart tricks are boomerangs.

France was easily induced to join Great Britain and Russia, for France is a monomaniac nation dominated by the hope for revenge.

² The English claim that the T'ai Ping possessed a spurious Christianity, for the T'ai Ping believed only in the sermon on the mount; according to Chinese notions they called Christ the Elder Brother, i. e., the authoritative son who represents God the Father. They worked out a Chinese conception of Christianity and did not belong to the Anglican church. That was enough to condemn their Christianity as spurious.

The French are like big children. They are amiable and really lovable. They are enthusiastic and, like their Gallic ancestors, excitable in character. Cæsar found it easy to subdue them because, like children, they were unsteady, and lacked the serious insistency of their Teutonic neighbors.

The Romans used the same methods in Germany that Cæsar employed in Gaul, and were to a certain extent quite successful, but when the Germans discovered that a Romanization of Germany meant an end of German institutions, of German language, and of a development of the characteristic traits of German nationality, they became roused to the danger and beat the Romans in the battle fought in the Teutoburg Forest, a battle which saved not only Germany, with its germs of a national civilization, but also England. It will be well for the English to remember that England's fate, too, depended on the victory of Arminius, for at that time the Saxons were still living in Northern Germany, and if the Germans had been Romanized, England would never have risen, and the very roots from which English speech developed would have been destroyed 458 years before they were transplanted to British soil.

France is no longer purely Celtic in blood, but the conquerors of the country, first the Romans, then the Franks and other Teutonic invaders, have changed into Gauls, and even to-day the people who settle in France, mostly Germans, acquire the Celtic characteristics. France has become Teutonic in all the most important spots, but the childlike nature of their inhabitants remains the same. Charlemagne was a Frank, his children and children's children behave like Celts. The Visigoths settled in the southwest, the Burgundians in the southeast, other German tribes in Lorraine, the Norsemen in the north, but all of them acquired the childlike gayety of the Celts; and the same can be observed to-day. There is a continuous stream of German immigration going on still, but the children of the German immigrants are indistinguishable from their French fellow citizens, while the French Huguenots have become Germans in Germany.

The French, like big children, are vain. Flatter them and you can dupe them easily. They are also theatrical. Note for instance how theatrical was the deportment of the great Gallic chief, Vercingetorix, when he surrendered to Cæsar, and also how Thiers behaved when he signed the peace treaty in 1871. All proclamations made by the French government to the French people, of any event, even of the enemy's progress, are appeals to their vanity. They are

assurances of French greatness, even when retreats or defeats are announced. They praise French gallantry, French triumphs, French deeds of valor and prophesy ultimate victory. Read for instance the transfer of the capital from Paris to Bordeaux. There we gain the impression that the Germans are beaten and the French army intact, but the government prefers a change of air for the good of the country and so it moves to Bordeaux.

The great Corsican, Napoleon the First, brought up in France, was a typical Frenchman, at least in vanity, and it is his vanity which proved ruinous to him when dealing with the Czar. When these two most powerful monarchs of the age met at Erfurt in 1812 Czar Alexander was bent on outwitting the great conqueror, and he succeeded by flattering his enemy. When the two met, Alexander turned round to his aide-de-camp and whispered, careful at the same time to be overheard by Napoleon, "How beautiful he is. If I were a woman I would fall in love with him." In further conversation, Alexander pretended to be overwhelmed by admiration for Napoleon's genius and, sitting at his feet, he pretended to be his faithful disciple. It was this attitude of Alexander which influenced Napoleon's plan of the Russian campaign. Napoleon thought that a victorious battle or a bold rush into the interior of Russia or some display of his dashing genius would most easily convert Alexander to make peace. So he ventured to capture Moscow and—lost the war.

The French clamor so much for revenge that the world has become accustomed to it, and whomsoever it suits, he encourages this clamor. But let us see first what right the French have to demand revenge.

First, as to the war of 1870-71: Was it not a war undertaken by Napoleon III with the loudly expressed acclamation of the people who paraded through the streets of Paris shouting "*à Berlin*"? And the cause of the war was the unjustifiable demand that the King of Prussia should humiliate himself before the French Emperor. He should beg pardon for a Hohenzollern prince of an entirely different line because the Spaniards had offered to the latter the crown of Spain. As Napoleon was beaten he received the fate he had deserved, and the French, having approved the war, have lost their right to complain about their defeat.

Secondly, as to the conditions of peace: The surrender of Alsace and a small piece of Lorraine was demanded by the victors for the sake of rounding off the lines of Germany's defense, and incidentally it was remembered that the people of Alsace were Ger-

mans, that Alsace had belonged to the German empire and its people even in the year 1871 were still speaking German. The French had appropriated Strasburg and other cities some time previously, without even taking the trouble to apologize for their robbery. But having taken Alsace-Lorraine, and having held it in their possession for almost two and one-half centuries, the French claim to be justified in their sentiment of revenge.

If that revenge were proper, why should not England constantly clamor for revenge because the United States were once English colonies? Why should not the Spanish clamor for revenge to regain Gibraltar? Why should not Sweden use every opportunity to drive the Russians out of Finland? There is no need of swelling the number of instances from the books of history, ancient and modern, but the French policy of revenge and the clamors of the French people for the re-occupation of Alsace-Lorraine have surely the very slightest foundation.

The real interest of France would naturally lie in an alliance with Germany. France and Germany have common interests in the establishment of mutual business relations and a mutual protection of their colonies against England. This has often been recognized by the Germans, but the French are blinded by their vanity, their vaingloriousness and their narrow-minded hope for revenge. Like big children, they became an easy prey to the British King who ensnared them to fight the battles of Albion, and to suffer more than the English themselves, for whose benefit they are willing to sacrifice themselves only in the expectation that England and Russia will support their lust for revenge.

Even to-day the French are theatrical and vain. Every defeat is represented as a glorious retreat, and every German victory is a disgrace to the enemy. In their rhetorical style the surrender of a fortress always appears as a deed of valor, a patriotic act for the glory of France, and is sure to lead to ultimate victory. Every position abandoned is an advantage gained, and the forts either taken by the enemy or evacuated are of no strategic importance. When it can no longer be denied that the enemy marches into the interior of the country, we are informed that his advance will lead him into a trap, where he is sure to be annihilated. The Germans seem to lack intelligence, for they walk into the French traps; but instead of being caught, they somehow smash the trap to pieces. Even their victories are symptoms of the barbarism of these hordes.

The French well know why they have their war news ornamented with a most exaggerated optimism, for they know that under

the gloom of truthful reports, their troops are not likely to display overmuch courage, and a little lie is condoned if it buoys up the soldiers in battle. For assuring the publication of the desired variety of reports the office of a strict censorship has been instituted.

It is strange that the English have learned from their allies this principle in spreading war news. Though the English people are gradually beginning to resent this kind of censorship, it is still most faithfully adhered to, and the war news coming from Paris, London and Petrograd has proved so unreliable that in certain circles in the United States it is now accepted as a joke.

It is interesting to note the contradictory character of the war news. So for instance the Prussian guards have three times been absolutely annihilated, but they are fighting still; and *The Scoop*, the organ of the Chicago Press Club, publishes a humorous poem by J. F. Luebben of Buffalo, N. Y., on the treatment of the German army in newspaper reports. We read in *The Scoop* for Saturday, Sept. 26, p. 1068:

"The German soldiers, strenuous men,	Five million Germans in the war,
In peace and war and thunders,	With officers and chattels,
Have not been killed by French or Russ,	What will the press soon do for men
But by newspaper blunders.	To fight the German battles?
Ten thousand they must die a day	The German, every inch a man,
(They cut such funny capers);	Is doing some good walking,
They do not die from cannon balls,	He's fighting now to beat the band,
But from big wads of papers.	And lets us do the talking.
Ten thousand dying day and night.	Now news comes flying through the
According to the guesses—	air,—
They dip them all in printer's ink,	Although they've cut the cables,
And squeeze them in the presses.	The Germans found the wireless.
	And <i>that</i> may turn the tables."

The Franco-British reports praise the English and the French troops. They speak of the superiority of the French artillery and the excellence of French gunners; yet by sheer luck the Germans hit. The Germans are inferior in every respect, they are repulsed, they have heavy losses; they are losing battle after battle. And yet they advance. It is almost a miracle, and we newspaper readers in the far west wonder how a defeated army can take one position after another and enter into the territory of the victors!

Germany is at such a tremendous disadvantage; why must lies also be employed to run down that poor nation? And, as if it were not enough to be faced by the three greatest powers of the world, England, France and Russia, not to mention Belgium, which has been in the fight from the start, there is still in the distant

Orient the little nation of the farthest East, Nippon, who plays the pick-pocket on Germany, and steals the Kaiser's possessions while his hands are full and he cannot whip the little urchin for his impudence. Japan's behavior is cowardly, but, encouraged by England, the bold Asiatic feels that he can act with impunity. Such are thy allies, proud Albion!

It is strange that the English boast of their own free institutions and characterize the Germans as abject slaves, but any one who knows England will understand that the poor of England have scarcely any influence on the British government. Not so the Germans! The Reichstag is elected by universal suffrage. The Germans know what they are fighting for, and they are willing to fight. Young men in Germany who had formerly been rejected from military service, have offered themselves at the recruiting stations to the number of one million three hundred thousand, while in England about one hundred thousand joined the colors when volunteers were urgently requested.

The emperor has been characterized as an autocrat, a czar, a tyrant, but one thing is certain: among all the monarchs of the world the Kaiser is most closely in touch with his people, much more closely than King George is with the English people; and the reason is this, that no one doubts that the emperor's soul is filled with the idea of duty; even where he errs he acts with the intention of doing the work that God requires him to do, and he feels the responsibility of his high position.

JAPAN.

Japan has joined the war.

The action of Japan has been received in the United States with feelings of deep distrust. On the one hand it seems an indication that the English cause must be very weak if Japan's help is needed, and on the other hand it seems to open the possibility of drawing the United States into the war. We have sympathized with Japan during the Russo-Japanese war, but since then the Japanese have shown a strange antagonism towards the United States in the Philippines, in Honolulu, in Mexico, and now they manifest an ambition to take possession of German China as well as of the German islands in the Pacific. Their assurance that they do not enter the war for the sake of self-aggrandizement has been officially believed by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, but finds little credence among the people.

Here are some sentences quoted from the *Chicago American*.

showing William Randolph Hearst's reflections on this subject, views which have found an echo all over the United States:

"The intrusion of Japan into the European war is a matter to excite the especial interest and attention of the American public. Japan has no quarrel whatever with Germany or Austria, no reason, as far as surface indications are concerned, for injecting herself into the European situation. What, then, was the secret or subterranean reason for Japan's action?

"Great Britain has often assured the government and the people of the United States that no such intimate alliance with Japan existed, but the plain facts and Japan's frank acknowledgment are incontrovertible. The action of Japan is wholly inexplicable upon any other assumption.

"Never before in the history of the country has the far-seeing wisdom of George Washington in enjoining our government to keep free from entangling alliances with foreign powers been more apparent.

"But if, in order to keep free from conflicts like that now raging in Europe, we must not enter into any alliance with any other nation, then must we all the more depend on our own resources and have resources sufficient to depend upon.

"But we should have a great navy.

"Furthermore, we should have a Panama Canal owned by the United States, controlled by the United States, fortified by the United States and in time of war at the service of the United States alone.

"If the people of our nation imagine that the reason we are not involved in this war is because of any special diplomatic inspiration of our government, or because of any impregnable situation of our country, they are as absurd in their assumption as the ostrich, who thinks if he hides his head in the sand he will not be hit by the hunter.

"We always are and always will be anxious to avoid war, but in the light of recent events it is evident that no country can tell when it will be compelled to defend itself. A great navy is our best protection and all far-seeing citizens of the United States hope that the party now in power at Washington will end its foolish and dangerous "no navy" policy and proceed promptly to give our country the protection it needs and demands."

The attitude of Japan and her procedure against Germany is a warning. Might we not over night have a war on hand on account of the secret treaties between Japan, England, and Russia in which

Mexico and the South American republics would join just for the fun?

ANTI-MACCHIAVELLI.

Some centuries ago statecraft was deemed an intricate and profound science and was assumed to have an ethics of its own. The men in power were either voluptuaries by God's grace or crafty intriguers, and the principles which guided the latter, the successful princes, were presented by Macchiavelli (1469-1527) in a book entitled *Il Principe*, which has been, and in certain circles is still, regarded as the primer of statecraft, and every statesman was expected to follow its precepts.

According to Macchiavelli a prince should keep up quarrels between the factions of his own state in order to preserve his dominion, and he should also stir up war between other states in order to profit by the difficulties and perplexities thus caused; or as the Latin formula runs: *Divide et impera*, that is to say, Cause dissensions and keep the balance of power.

A piece of practical statecraft in perfect agreement with Macchiavelli's unscrupulous maxims, is preserved in the testament of Peter the Great* from which we will here reproduce a few specimens to show our readers what it means to support Russia and how little any one can rely on Russian faith. The clauses 9-11 read thus:

"Clause 9.—Russia must incessantly extend herself toward the north along the Baltic Sea, and toward the south along the Black Sea. Our kingdom must advance as far as possible toward Constantinople and the East Indies. Whoever shall reign there will be the true master of the world. Therefore we must excite continual wars, sometimes with Turkey, sometimes with Persia; create dockyards on the Black Sea; take possession, little by little, of that sea, as well as of the Baltic, which is a point doubly necessary for the success of the project; we must hasten the downfall of Persia; penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf; re-establish, if possible, the ancient commerce of the Levant through Syria; and advance as far as the Indies, which is the emporium of the world. When once there we can do without the gold of England.

"Clause 10.—Russia must carefully seek and keep up the alliance with Austria; apparently second her design for future domination over Germany; and we must excite underhand against her a jealousy of the princes. We must incite each and all of

* Peter the Great ruled from 1689 to 1725.

these to seek succor from Russia, and exercise a sort of protection over the country, which may prepare our future domination.

"Clause 11.—We must interest the House of Austria in the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, and neutralize her jealousy after the conquest of Constantinople, either by exciting a war between her and the old states of Europe, or by giving up her part of the conquest, to retake it from her afterward."

The last will and testament of Peter the Great, proposing the plan to expand Russian influence, to Russify the whole world, and make the Czar supreme on earth, is Russia's sacred heirloom, but Russia accepted also the Triple Entente, not with an idea of benefiting England or France, but because she discovered a plan of thus using France and England for the enhancement of the grand Russian ideal. How shortsighted was Edward VII not to understand the situation, nor to suspect that he gave Russia a chance to further the Czar's ambitions!

Russian policy has been and will continue to be directed mainly against England, and the English know it; but the recent fear of growing Germany caused Edward VII to form the Triple Entente, a coalition based on Macchiavelli's principles of statecraft. English people are honest, but they do not seem to realize that the English government is guided by the policy of Macchiavelli, that they are befriending a dangerous enemy with which they will later have to reckon.

In the thirties of the eighteenth century, a new view of statecraft, first proclaimed anonymously under the title *Anti-Macchiavelli* proposed the principle that a prince would hold his own best if he performed his duty, if he made himself indispensable to his subjects by giving them the best possible service, and soon the secret leaked out that the author of the tract was Frederick, the brilliant young crown prince of Prussia. The news created a sensation in the European courts, for Prussia, a small upstart state of Germany, had just aroused wide-spread suspicion on account of its vigorous militarism. But now all fear was allayed; the world became convinced that the Prussian crown prince was a visionary; he loved art and science and manifested literary—especially French literary—interests; he believed in honesty in politics; he wished to be honest to other states and also to his own subjects, and indeed, in his later life as a king, he regarded himself as the first servant

³ In one English paper I find that Bernard Shaw understands this point and prophesies that after the downfall of Germany, the English will be confronted with Russia. But it does not seem so certain that the English will crush the Germans.

of the state, *le premier domestique de l'état*. How silly that principle must have appeared to the admirers of the grand and pompous Louis XIV, who is reported to have said, *L'état c'est moi!*

It is noteworthy, however, that Frederick's principle of honesty in statecraft included militarism in the proper sense of the term, i. e., the obligation to keep a country in a state of strong defense and to be prepared to fight enemies who might grudge its growth and attack it. The first act of his government consisted in maintaining his claim to Silesia in two wars against Austria.

In 1756, Austria, Russia, France and the German empire united to crush him and wipe Prussia from the face of the earth. The situation seemed absolutely hopeless for the young king. How could he defend himself against the whole world?

At that time Saxony was implicated in the alliance, and so Frederick broke the neutrality of Saxony because he saw the necessity of anticipating the crushing onslaught of his enemies. The result is known. He remained victor, and history honors him by calling him Frederick the Great. There is no need to tell the story of his life, his difficulties, his occasional defeats and his final triumph.

The spirit of Frederick the Great has not yet died out; on the contrary it has grown; it spread all over Germany; it founded the German empire and it animates the German people of to-day. It is Frederick's spirit which is now branded by the enemies of Germany as "militarism."

The Kaiser's idea that he is king of Prussia and emperor of Germany by God's grace may be based on an antiquated and superstitious notion of his divine dignity, but we must grant he interprets it in the sense that as king and emperor he is responsible to God for his government and even the Social Democrats do not doubt that he acts according to his conscience.

BISMARCK'S VIEW.

Bismarck foresaw the origin of the Triple Entente and feared the results of it. Would he have been able to prevent its evil results?

Here is a discussion of this topic by Dr. George L. Scherger, professor of history at the Armour Institute of Technology. He quotes some prophetic utterances of Bismarck:

"The following remark, made as early as 1875, has been fulfilled literally:

"'Mighty Germany has great tasks; above all, to keep peace

in Europe. This is my chief consideration also in the oriental crisis. I do not intend to interfere if there is any way to avoid it, for such an interference might cause a European conflagration, especially if the interests of Austria and Russia should clash in the Balkans. If I should take the side of one of these powers France would immediately join with the other, and a European war would break out. I am trying to hold two mighty beasts by the collar, in order that they may not tear each other to pieces, and in order that they may not combine against Germany.'

"As regards Russia, Bismarck says again and again that Germany would not have the least interest in waging a war with her, nor would Russia with Germany, because neither has any antagonistic interests.

"Russia's Asiatic interests are not in any way dangerous to Germany, although they are to England. If Russia should defeat Germany she could only take from her a strip of territory along the Baltic which would really be a nuisance to her because its inhabitants are very democratic. Germany, on the other hand, could only hope to increase her undesirable Polish territory.'

"Bismarck even stated that he would have no objection to Russia's taking Constantinople, and thought that with the possession of this gate to the Black sea she would be even less dangerous to Germany than at present. Of course he knows that this would endanger England's possession of Egypt and the Suez canal, both of which she needs as much as her daily bread.

"Not less striking are Bismarck's observations concerning France:

"If the French are willing to keep peace with us until we attack them,' he says, 'then peace is assured forever. What should we hope to get from France? Shall we annex more French territory? I was not even strongly inclined in 1871 to take Metz because of its French population. I consulted our military authorities before I reached a final decision. It was Thiers who said to me: "We will give you your choice between Belfort and Metz; if you insist upon both we cannot make peace." I then asked our war department whether we could give up our demand for either of these and received the reply: "Yes, as regards Belfort, but Metz is worth 100,000 troops; the question is whether we wish to be weaker by that many men in case we should ever have another war." Thereupon I said: "We will take Metz."'

"If Germany became involved in war with France, it would not be necessary to expect Russia to strike Germany, but if Russia

should strike first, France would be sure to join her in attacking Germany'—a most remarkable forecast of what has now actually taken place.

"As early as 1887 he said: 'Russia and France will sooner or later attack Germany.' He added that in this case the Germans could put 3,000,000 men into the field within ten days, 1,000,000 on the French border, another 1,000,000 on the Russian, and 1,000,000 reserves. There would be arms and clothes for 4,500,000. The next war would signify that either France or Germany would be wiped out of existence.

"Concerning England, Bismarck says: 'As regards foreign countries, I have had sympathy only for England, and even now am not without this feeling; but those folks do not want to be loved by us.' At another time he remarked: 'The English are full of anger and jealousy because we fought great battles—and won them. They do not like to see us prosper. We only exist in order to fight their battles for pay. That is the opinion of the entire English gentry. They have never wished us well, but have done all they could to injure us.'

"Bismarck commented upon the traditional English policy of stirring up trouble on the continent, according to the principle that when two quarrel the third may be glad. Especially desirous had she been to get Germany and Russia embroiled, so that she herself would not need to fight Russia. This is the very game England has succeeded in playing in the present war. Bismarck acknowledges that he would do the same thing if he could find some strong and foolish fellow who would fight for him.

"Bismarck thought that England, having only a few thousand troops of the line, was, when standing alone, really a negligible power, which, by playing the part of a guardian aunt, had gained a certain artificial influence, but ought some day to be limited to its proper domain. If England and France should combine against Germany, the English might destroy the German navy, which at the time was still in its infancy, but Germany would in that case make France pay the bill.

"Bismarck said: 'The Germans are like bears in this respect; they do not attack of their own accord, but they fight like mad when they are attacked in their own lairs. An appeal to fear will never find an echo in the German's heart. The German is easily betrayed by love and sympathy, but never by fear. The Germans will not start the fire. Some other nation may, but let any nation that provokes Germany beware of the *furor teutonicus*. We Ger-



PETER THE GREAT.



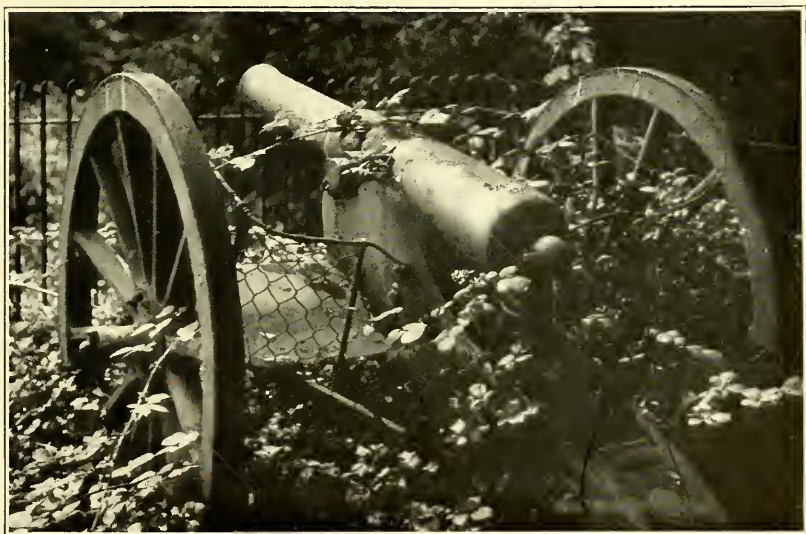
BIRD OF WAR DESCENDING.



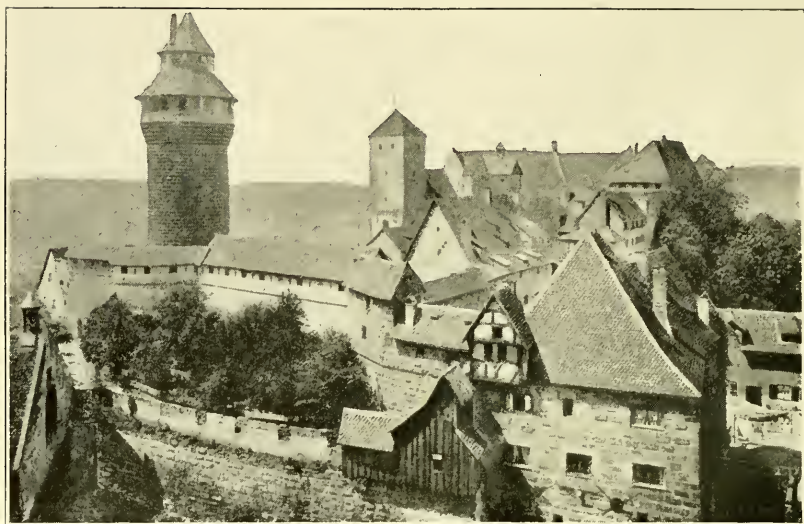
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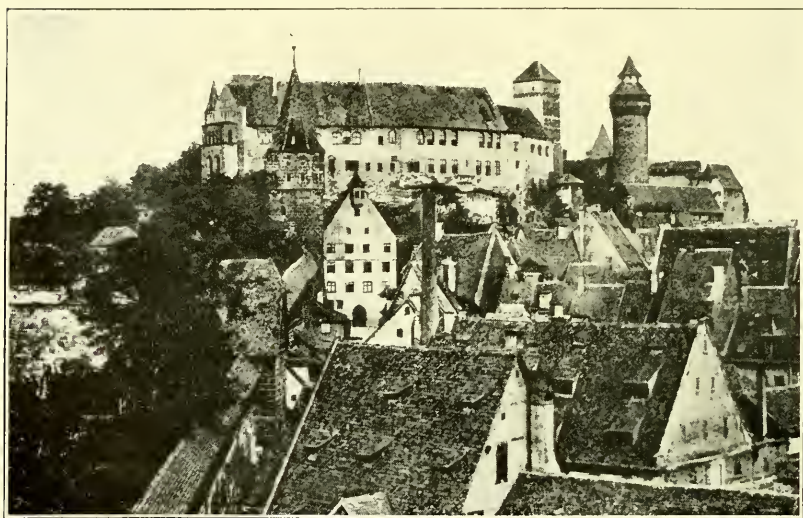
PANORAMA OF NUREMBERG.



PEACE.
From a photograph.



CASTLE OF NUREMBERG.
Southern view.



CASTLE OF NUREMBERG.
Northern view.

mans fear God, but nothing else in the world; and the fear of God induces us to love and seek peace. Whoever breaks the peace will soon realize that the same patriotism which called weak and down-trodden little Prussia to the standards in 1813 has to-day become the common property of united Germany, and that whoever attacks the German nation will find her presenting a united front, every soldier having in his heart the firm faith: God will be with us.

“Our soldiers are worth kissing; every one so fearless of death, so quiet, so obedient, so kindly with empty stomachs, wet clothes, little sleep, torn shoes; friendly to all; no plundering and wanton destruction, they pay for all they can and eat moldy bread. Our people must have a deep fund of religion, otherwise all this could not be as it is.”

It almost seems that the war was unavoidable because the three great powers, Russia, France and England were determined not to allow Germany to grow too big. Perhaps Bismarck would have been able to prevent the Triple Entente.

MODERN WARFARE.

What wrong notions prevail about warfare can be seen in almost every American newspaper. In the opinion of many people, including reporters in America as well as abroad, the purpose of war seems to be to kill as many of the enemy as possible, and the losses of the victor are sometimes described and emphasized as if the vanquished army had got the best of the battle. This might be compared to a game of chess in which he would be the victor who loses the fewest pieces. It is true that every party laments the loss of men for humanitarian reasons and also on account of weakening its forces, but for the significance of the war the purpose of a battle is to gain a position which dominates the roads and places the enemy's country at the invader's mercy.

For this reason the Germans have introduced the use of bullets making clean wounds from which a healthy man may easily recover. There is no advantage in massacring the enemy, but it is very desirable to put great numbers of them *hors de combat*. The humanitarian motive of sparing the lives of the enemy is not uppermost in this idea, but the practical advantage of burdening the enemy with the care of their wounded men.

For the same reason, the principle has been adopted in the international agreements as to the rules of warfare that all expanding rifle bullets shall be strictly barred. It is sufficient to hit an enemy and wound him; it is unnecessary to cause him to die in

•

agony, or to inflict upon him wounds that are incurable. Dumdum bullets are no factor in the decision of victory in battle and are barbarous and inhuman.

A French report informs the French public that only two percent of their wounded soldiers die, which means that 98 percent, i. e., almost all of them, survive; and the writer of that note adds that the Germans are poor riflemen; they cannot shoot, and when they hit they do not kill.

Victories may be gained without a battle, by forced marches; for a victory consists in gaining a dominant position. How little the British generals know of warfare appears from the report of General French who finds himself in an untenable position and is proud of having escaped annihilation. Tommy Atkins is brave in battle, but he must be placed in the right position or his courage will manifest itself in his "brilliant retreat." Courage is an essential element in the winning of a victory, but leadership cannot be dispensed with. A general should at least be familiar with the fundamentals of warfare.

There is another superstition prevalent which is that the results of war may be calculated by seeing troops on paper. England will find out that material consisting of raw recruits is not dangerous to her enemies. A new army of one or several hundred thousand may be raised to serve as food for cannons, not to turn the tide of German triumph. In war, as everywhere, it is quality that counts and not quantity, efficiency, not numbers.

Still another error is repeated *ad nauseam* in British and French papers. Whenever the Germans are to be recognized for advantages gained, they are accused of unintelligent energy, slavish obedience, or the display of brutal force with their superiority of numbers. As to numbers, there is no question that the Germans are by far inferior in this respect to their enemies, the allied troops; but it is an important principle in warfare that at the critical point there must be a display of superior strength, and it is the part of strategy to recognize the decisive point and concentrate there a superior number of men. This is not brute force but superior intelligence. By and by the English will learn more of warfare and will gradually appreciate the part which intelligence plays in battle.

Modern warfare is based upon the principle that the armies should fight, not the citizens. When the citizens of a village or a city attack soldiers from their windows, thus taking part in battle, they forfeit the right to have their lives and their property respected, and the enemy punishes them by burning their houses. Strict neu-

trality on the part of civilians is universally considered an indispensable rule because only in this way can an invading army be expected to confine its attack to the hostile soldiers. If invading troops were obliged to regard every inhabitant as an enemy who may shoot from an ambush, they would have to massacre every one in sight in self-defense. The participation of civilians in the fight is of no assistance to their country, for they are necessarily unorganized bodies of fighters; though they inflict damage, they suffer more in return. Thus they would renew the savage condition in which hostility between two nations becomes a struggle for mutual extermination. For this reason a civilized army can not allow civilians to take up arms and participate in the war; nor can any government let such occurrences go unpunished, first because it must protect its own men, and then because a combat of civilians leads back to a most terrible barbarism.

Now the Germans claim that while the Belgians made a sortie from Antwerp, some patriotic Belgians distributed rifles among the citizens of Louvain, who thereupon suddenly attacked the small force of Germans in their midst. After a battle in the streets they were overpowered and for punishment the city or part of the city was doomed to destruction. It is stated, however, that the quaint old City Hall was spared. The incident of Louvain, having occurred simultaneously with an Antwerp sortie, seems to have been inspired by Belgian government officials acting in concert with military authorities at Antwerp. Similar outbreaks of the same kind have happened before and the King of the Belgians officially expressed his thanks for the brave resistance not only of the army but also of the people against the invader.

King Albert, of Belgium, has given the military golden cross to Private J. J. Rousseau of the Fourth Belgian Chasseurs for killing Major General von Buelow after the battle of Haelen. It must have been a lonely spot on the battlefield where the German general appeared unfolding a map and studying the geography of the place. Rousseau was lying on the ground among the wounded; he fired and mortally wounded the general. The newspaper account adds: "On the general's person the Belgians found besides a number of dispatches \$33,000 in currency which money was turned over to the Red Cross." Disguised with the helmet of a Prussian cuirassier, Rousseau escaped. The deed was confessedly done from ambush, not in open battle, so it is difficult to appreciate its heroism; and the appropriation of the dead man's property is scarcely defensible.

The government of France has been guilty of similar offenses.

The French have preached revenge in their schools and have praised the brave *francs-tireurs*, thus encouraging a repetition of civilian hostility against the Germans by sowing hatred against them in the minds of the children and fostering the barbarous habit of allowing the participation of the populace in war. To reproach the Germans for burning Louvain is the more unfair, as under the same circumstances every other army would have done the same. Think of the treatment which the English accorded to their Hindu prisoners as presented in a most horrifying picture by Verestchagin!

The Belgian explanation of the occurrence in Louvain, to the effect that the Germans had shot upon their own men by mistake and had then attempted to cover up their error by accusing the inhabitants of Louvain, is strangely improbable and lacks verification as much as the accusations of other alleged "atrocities."

There are vulgar men in every army, but any one who is really acquainted with armies of different nationalities will grant that the German men are more cultured and of a higher moral standing than any other private soldiers the world over; and the reason is that they are not soldiers proper, but sons of honest citizens, children of home folks who perform their military duties while being themselves traders or craftsmen or laborers, who before and after military service earn their honest and peaceable living in some regular calling in the community. There are no soldiers of fortune among them, no adventurers, no warriors by profession.

Americans have heard only one side of the situation. The cable being cut, uncensored news begins to reach us very slowly, so the sympathy with Belgium has developed among us an unfair hostility towards Germany. Not only was it known to the Germans that the French would break Belgium's neutrality with the consent of the Belgian government, but hatred against the Germans was spread among the population, afterwards causing many civilians to take part in the fighting. Shortly before the actual beginning of the war the Germans were treated most barbarously in Antwerp. The *Chicago Herald* of September 15 contains a letter, written August 7, which Mrs. O. C. Buss, of 6104 Kenwood Avenue, received from her sister:

"In Belgium they are murdering Germans everywhere. They dragged German women out of their beds and through the streets by the hair. Threw little children out of windows while their mothers begged for them."

About happenings which took place during the war the same lady writes: "They fired on and killed Red Cross nurses and mur-

dered the wounded. They went into a house where three wounded German soldiers were and murdered them. At the railroad station when Germans and Austrians were leaving, they tore children from their mothers' arms, and the mothers have never seen them again. . . . One poor fellow was wandering about with his hands tied behind his back, and his eyes gouged out. Others were found dead from the same treatment. . . . All war news is given to the people through the police. Every policeman stands at the corner and cries out the news like a 'barker.' "

The French did not remain behind the Belgians in maltreatment of inoffensive Germans. We will quote only one statement of an American eye witness, dated New York, August 24, and published in the *Chicago Examiner*, August 25:

"It will never be known how many Germans were killed in Paris during the riots July 30 and 31 and August 1. The crimes of that period, could they become known, would shame the civilized world."

"This statement was made today by Henry M. Ziegler, a Cincinnati millionaire who has made his home in Paris for five years, but fled with the American refugees on the steamship *La France*. Describing the scenes in Paris during these three days, before martial law was declared, Mr. Ziegler said:

"It was unsafe for any foreigner, particularly one who could not speak French, to go on the streets. For a German it was little short of suicidal. I saw one German driving down a boulevard with a woman in a cab. The mob upset the cab. The woman fainted and was trampled on, but some one finally dragged her away.

"The man made a gallant fight for his life. With his back to the overturned cab he fought desperately for several minutes. He was a big fellow, too. He struck out right and left with his fists and bowled over his assailants as fast as they got within reach, but he was finally overpowered, trampled and stabbed to death.

"I know a family that had a German cook who had been with them many years. The sons went off to war, but that was no guarantee of protection for the woman. Some one told the mob, and my friends had to hide the old woman in the cellar to save her life.

"One evening a friend and I saw the mob chasing a German. He almost got away, but was caught in an alley. My friend recognized one of his employes in the mob. The next day his employe boasted that they not only got the German we saw them after, but three others. All were stabbed to death after being beaten into insensibility.

"One of the most noticeable things in Paris are the electric signs of a big milk distributor. He has upwards of 100 milk depots in Paris, and is worth more than \$5,000,000. He is a German who has lived in Paris for twenty years. The mob wrecked his electric signs and milk depots, and then some one started the report that he had poisoned the milk and was going to kill all his customers. The mob went hunting for him, but he escaped."

According to German testimony recorded in German papers, the cruelty of civilians towards helpless wounded German soldiers on the battlefield has become quite common in Belgium, and gouging out the eyes seems to have developed into a sport among a certain class of patriots who, when caught, are not treated very tenderly. It is the punishment of these offenders which has given rise to the stories of German atrocities, so far as they are based on facts.

Five American reporters, three of whom are residents of Chicago and all well known throughout the United States, write thus in a round robin about the alleged German atrocities:

"After spending two weeks with and accompanying the troops upward of one hundred miles, we are unable to report a single instance unprovoked.

"We are also unable to confirm rumors of mistreatment of prisoners or of non-combatants with the German columns. This is true of Louvain, Brussels and Luneville while in Prussian hands.

"We visited Chateau Soldre, Sambre, and Beaumont without substantiating a single wanton brutality. Numerous investigated rumors proved groundless. Everywhere we have seen Germans paying for purchases and respecting property rights as well as according civilians every consideration.

"After the battle of Biass (probably Barse, a suburb of Namur) we found Belgian women and children moving comfortably about. The day after the Germans had captured the town of Merbes Chateau we found one citizen killed, but were unable to confirm lack of provocation. Refugees with stories of atrocities were unable to supply direct evidence. Belgians in the Sambre valley discounted reports of cruelty in the surrounding country. The discipline of the German soldiers is excellent, as we observed.

"To the truth of these statements we pledge our professional and personal word. James O'Donnell Bennett, *Chicago Tribune*.

John T. McCutcheon, *Chicago Tribune*.

Roger Lewis, the Associated Press.

Irvin S. Cobb, *Saturday Evening Post*.

Harry Hansen, *Chicago Daily News*."

Some of these American reporters had been arrested for some time in the German lines. The subject is resumed in the *Tribune* of September 17 where we read on the first page in big print:

"That Mr. Bennett's fears of British censorship were well founded is made clear by the fact that the copy of the round robin sent by Mr. McCutcheon and himself direct to *The Tribune* has never been received in this office. The copy 'wirelessly' to the Associated Press from Berlin is the only one that got through."

Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett is very serious in his insistence that the truth shall come out because the untruth is spread with the obvious intent to injure the German cause. He speaks of the "round robin" as "a bare statement in which we expressed our earnest belief—a belief based on days of personal observations in the theater of war—that the reports of barbarities alleged to have been perpetrated by German troops on an inoffensive Belgian countryside are shocking falsehoods."

Referring to English censorship he speaks of that "thing as the vaunted English sense of fair play"; he mentions the "bundles of London newspapers" containing "column after column of the most harrowing and dreadful accounts of most infamous barbarities inflicted upon the Belgian peasantry by German troops." Trying to verify one case Mr. Bennett says: "Always on our march the facts relative to the German atrocities evaded us. Always it was in 'the next village' that a woman had been outraged, a child butchered, or an innocent old man tortured. Arriving at that 'next village,' we could get no confirmation from the inhabitants. 'No,' they would say, 'it did not happen here; but we heard that it was in the next village, messieurs.' But the next village would develop naught authentically—only wild stories, rumors, hearsay. At Soire-sur-Sambre, all around which there had been fighting on Sunday and Monday, the 23d and 24th of August, the burgomaster said to us in the late afternoon of Wednesday, the 26th: 'As reports come in from surrounding towns I am unable to verify these rumors of cruelties perpetrated against unarmed civilians, and I give no credence to them.'"

Much has been said also of the maltreatment of women, and this subject, too, is mentioned by Mr. Bennett who says:

"The most terrific outrage any of us has seen was seen by Cobb. With his own appreciative eyes he saw a laughing German soldier, who was crossing a street in Louvain, lean forward and imprint a kiss on the cheek of a Belgian girl who was bantering him. The girl promptly slapped his face. The soldier laughed the

louder. The girl began to laugh, too. The incident was closed. Cobb said it was as quaint and merry a scene in homely life as ever he saw. That was week before last."

Mr. Bennett in speaking of the falsehoods of the English reports of German atrocities blames the Louvain citizens themselves for the destruction of their city. Having mentioned another item he says: "A few days later Louvain lost its head. It went mad. Its civilians fired from ambuscade upon German soldiers. The deed was the supreme outrage against laws of civilized warfare. The punishment was terrible and it has put the fear of the Prussian god into every Belgian city and hamlet from Antwerp to Beaumont, from Ostend to Liège. To-day the ancient and renowned university city of northern Europe lies in ashes."

Louvain is not a "university city" in the usual sense of the word. Its great educational institution is called "the Catholic University," in contrast to modern scientific universities, and some young priests there appear to have taken a prominent part in the fight against the heretical Germans.

While I write, the German official report of the destruction of Louvain reaches me. It was published in Berlin August 30 and disposes of all the Belgian fables:

"The city of Louvain surrendered and was given over to us by the Belgian authorities. On Monday, August 24, some of our troops were shipped there, and intercourse with the inhabitants was developing quite friendly.

"On Tuesday afternoon, August 25, our troops, hearing about an imminent Belgian sortie from Antwerp, left in that direction, the commanding general ahead in a motor car, leaving behind only a colonel with soldiers to protect the railroad (*Landsturm Battalion* 'Neuss').

"As the rest of the commanding general's staff, with the horses, was going to follow, and had gathered on the market place, rifle fire suddenly opened from all the surrounding houses, all the horses being killed and five officers wounded, one of them seriously.

"Simultaneously fire opened at about ten different places in town, also on some of our troops just arrived and waiting on the square in front of the station, and on incoming military trains. That it was a designed co-operation with the Belgian sortie from Antwerp was established beyond a doubt.

"Two priests who were caught handing out ammunition to the people were shot at once in front of the station.

"The street fight lasted till Wednesday, the 26th, in the after-

noon (twenty-four hours), when stronger forces, which arrived in the meantime, succeeded in getting the upper hand. The town and northern suburb were burning at different places, and by this time probably have burned down altogether.

"On the part of the Belgian government a general rising of the populace against the enemy had been organized for a long time; depots of arms were found, where to each gun was attached the name of the citizen to be armed.

"A spontaneous rising of the people has been recognized at the request of the smaller states at The Hague conference, as being within the law of nations, in so far as weapons are carried openly and the laws of civilized warfare are observed; but such rising was only admitted in order to fight the attacking enemy.

"In the case of Louvain the town had already surrendered and the populace submitted without resistance, the town being occupied by our troops.

"Nevertheless the populace attacked us on all sides and discharged murderous fire on the occupying forces and newly-arriving troops, which came in trains and automobiles.

"Therefore it is not a question of the means of defense allowed by the law of nations, nor of a warlike ambush, but only of a treacherous attack by the civilian population all along the line. This attack is all the more to be condemned as it was apparently planned long beforehand to take place simultaneously with an attack from Antwerp; for arms were not carried openly, and women and young girls took part in the fight, blinding our wounded and gouging their eyes out.

"The barbarous attitude of the Belgian population in all parts occupied by our troops has not only justified our severest measures, but forced them upon us for the sake of self-preservation.

"The violence of the resistance of the populace is shown by the fact that in Louvain twenty-four hours were necessary to break down their attack.

"We ourselves regret deeply that during these fights the town of Louvain has to a large extent been destroyed. Needless to say, these consequences were not intentional on our part, and could not be avoided."

The truth leaks out more and more. Mr. Joseph Medill Patterson, editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, now on the theater of war, writes an explicit account of the alleged atrocities and says: "I firmly believe that all the stories put out by the British and French of torture, mutilation, assaults etc. by Germans are utter rubbish."

George F. Porter of Chicago, now in London, writes in the same spirit. Here is an account of one of his many personal investigations and the inkling of truth it contained:

"They did tell me, however, of a Belgian nurse at the St. Thomas Hospital here [London] with the tendons of her wrist cut. I went there immediately, saw the secretary of the hospital and found there was a nurse there, but that instead of the tendons of her wrists being cut she had burned her wrists badly by the explosion of a spirit lamp on which she was making tea. Here was a typical example of the way stories are fabricated out of nothing."

We learn from German papers that only about one-sixth of Louvain has been burned down. The rest has been preserved. Some churches and other valuable buildings were destroyed during the fight, but were not set on fire by the Germans. Some German officers did their best to save valuable pictures.

The lies of German atrocities are strangely offset by the great wrongs committed by the Belgians, not only in taking an active part in the war but also in the most heinous crimes of battle-hyenas. Many persons have been captured who found a pastime in torturing wounded German soldiers and indulged mainly in gouging out the eyes of their helpless victims.*

The Belgians complain of German atrocities, but they seem to think that private citizens are not bound to respect the rules of warfare. They deemed it right to drive German inhabitants out of Antwerp in a most cruel feud; and the French and English make use of dum dum bullets. The Kaiser made the following statement to President Wilson, to whom complaints had been submitted by the Belgians:

"I consider it my duty, sir, to inform you as the most notable representative of the principles of humanity—that after the capture of the French Fort of Longwy my troops found in that place thousands of dum dum bullets which had been manufactured in special works by the French government. Such bullets were found not only on French killed and wounded soldiers and on French prisoners, but also on English troops. You know what terrible wounds and awful suffering are caused by these bullets, and that their use is strictly forbidden by the generally recognized rules of international warfare.

"I solemnly protest to you against the way in which this war

* *The Chicago Herald* of September 22, page 1, contains an extract from W. Scheuermann's report of the cruelty of Belgian civilians, among them young girls.

is being waged by our opponents, whose methods are making it one of the most barbarous in history.

"Besides the use of these awful weapons, the Belgian government has openly incited the civil population to participate in the fighting, and has for a long time carefully organized their resistance. The cruelties practised in this guerrilla warfare, even by women and priests, toward wounded soldiers and doctors and hospital nurses—physicians were killed and hospitals fired on—were such that eventually my generals were compelled to adopt the strongest measures to punish the guilty and frighten the bloodthirsty population from continuing their shameful deeds.

"Some villages, and even the old town of Louvain, with the exception of its beautiful town hall (Hotel de Ville), had to be destroyed for the protection of my troops.

"My heart bleeds when I see such measures inevitable and when I think of the many innocent people who have lost their houses and property as a result of the misdeeds of the guilty."

The worst feature of the citizen's fight in Louvain is the attitude of the Belgian government in sending out official orders in writing to the leaders of the patriotic party. These misguided fanatics had hoped to exterminate the entire little garrison. That the Belgian government had taken an important part in this murderous work, may serve as an excuse to the citizens who ventured into the fight, but we can not blame the Germans for insisting on severe punishment. Apparently in the opinion of the King of Belgium there is no difference between war and assassination. He may be well-intentioned, but appears to lack judgment.

MILITARISM.

The term "militarism" is of recent coinage, and it may mean the German institution of universal military service, or the shortcomings of military institutions. The former is militarism as it ought to be, the latter are excrescences of military arrogance, a kind of social disease which will naturally and from time to time make its appearance, or develop into an epidemic. There is no need of explaining the disease of militarism which, as it seems, was contracted by some members of the officers' corps at Zabern, and which has been severely censured in Germany by the Reichstag. We will only say that militarism, in that sense, has always been of a transient nature and has never been worse in Germany than in other countries.

Militarism, as an institution of the German empire, established by law, with the full consent of the German people, for the sake

of national defense. is a state of things that can neither be condemned nor commended off-hand, but must be studied and understood. Only people who know it, not merely from experience but also in its history and actual efficiency, can really express an intelligent opinion regarding it.

If there is any one outside of Germany who can speak with authority on the subject, it is the writer of the present article. He is sufficiently informed as to its history during the last one hundred and six years; he has served in the German army and has been an officer in a Saxon artillery regiment; he knows the German needs, which demand the sacrifice of military service, and is well acquainted with the spirit of German patriotism which, for the sake of patriotism, assents to it.

The German army is different from any other, and especially from the English army. The official definition of the German army reads that it is "the German people in arms"—*das deutsche Volk in Waffen*. The fatherland does not enlist mercenaries; it calls upon every able-bodied man of the nation to appear at the colors and be ready for the defense of his country. The Kaiser is the leader, the lord of battle, who has the highest command, and to whom every soldier has to swear his oath of allegiance.

How often do foreigners misrepresent the state of things, and pity the German soldiers for allowing themselves to be enslaved in the service of a tyrant who will lead them to be slaughtered. What foolishness! Does any one believe that the German army could win its decisive battles if it consisted of slaves and were serving the private interests of a vainglorious monarch? Great battles can be won only by free men inspired by an idea, and the Germans of to-day do not fight for the possession of a few hundred million pounds sterling, not for dollars and cents, but for their homes, their liberty, their country. In order to defeat Germany, her enemies will have to slay the whole male population capable of bearing arms.

The origin of the present system of militarism dates back one hundred and five or six years, to the time when Napoleon I had humiliated Prussia. One of the conqueror's conditions of peace was that the Prussian army should be limited in numbers. So the Prussian general Scharnhorst kept on changing his soldiers; he had them trained and discharged, only to be replaced by new recruits, and when the day of liberation dawned, the inhabitants rose in great masses, not as raw recruits, but as trained men, in an army about four times as strong as had been permitted to be kept. This system of regarding the standing army as a school has been worked

out first for Prussia and then for Germany, to its present completion, not for the benefit of one man, but for the people; and the history of Germany has impressed the necessity of militarism upon the whole nation. The suddenness with which the present war broke upon Germany is but a new proof of the absolute necessity of a national defense.

Militarism in this sense, as a systematic defense of the nation, will not be abolished, as some ignoramus predict, but will be more securely and permanently established than ever in the fatherland, and all the enemies of Germany will have to adopt it if they intend to have the same, or approximately the same, military efficiency.

France has introduced militarism, but the English newspaper writers find no fault with French militarism, although it is more severe than the German system, and lacks its intellectual advantages. I will only mention here the one-year service in Germany, reserved for youths of higher education, a distinction which is not permitted in France, on the ground that there ought not to be preference of any kind in a republic. But the preference shown is not that of a privileged class, it is not due to noble birth, nor to wealth; this preference is allowed to those who, by public examinations or in their course of education, prove themselves worthy of this distinction; any one can secure the privilege if he but reaches the required standard of education. From these volunteers for one-year service, the officers are chosen for the reserves. This privilege of a one-year service looks like an aristocratic institution. It is not, and, as a result, there is no one, not even among the Social Democrats, who finds fault with it. On the contrary it is a stimulus to education.

The German army is one of the most democratic institutions in the world. Its supreme law is efficiency, and that is being attained without respect to persons. The son of a duke, a prince, the millionaire's son, or any poor fellow from the lowest ranks of the peasantry, all are treated alike, all have to perform their duty, and from the beginning the best example has been set by the princes of the imperial house, the Hohenzollerns themselves.

And what is the result? The German people acquire an invaluable education in duty, in promptness, in accuracy, qualities in which all other nationalities, without exception, are sorely deficient. Even young men who do not serve are benefited by German militarism, for they inevitably imbibe its spirit.

How often has the criticism been made, that the German youths lose two or three years from the most important part of their lives,

in military service; but the truth is that the money annually spent on the army brings as great returns as that which is expended for public schools; this militarism is part and parcel of the German education, and sometimes men wonder where Germans have acquired those qualities of sturdiness, of a sense of duty, of exactness in details. A wealthy foreigner living in Germany; and wishing to engage a driver, will naturally first propose to a candidate for the position the question whether he has served in the army; for if he has done so, he will probably be the more efficient and the more reliable. Would not our American youths be better equipped for life if they had served in the army?

Germany's militarism does not suit Germany's enemies, for militarism, in the best sense of the term, has enabled Germany to withstand the attacks of her foes. While the Germans were absolutely peaceful, their neighbors fell upon the fatherland and tore off province after province from the empire, and those German tribes that found no support in the common fatherland became independent. Strasburg and other cities of Alsace-Lorraine became French, Pomerania fell to Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland became independent, and finally the entire German empire broke down. Thus the exigencies of national struggles developed German militarism so called, to supply the manhood of the country with a methodical training in self-defense.

Mr. H. G. Wells, the English novelist, declares that "every soldier who fights against Germany now is a crusader against war." He adds: "This greatest of all wars is not just another war; it is the last war!"

There are many apparently intelligent people who claim that England, France and Russia are not fighting Germany, but the militarism of Germany, and as soon as the power of this institution is broken, the era of universal peace will be at hand. There is scarcely any need of refuting the hypocrisy of this claim. One thing is certain: if in Great Britain every man were in duty bound to rally to the defense of his country, the British would not have rushed into war, and it is probable that if the German type of militarism were introduced throughout the world, there would be fewer wars, and none of them would be entered into with such frivolous and unscrupulous stupidity as the war of this year.

GROWING MILITARISM.

The advocates of peace are often peculiar people; they preach peace on earth, and their ideal is quite commendable; but each clam-

ors for his own peace. England will preserve peace so long as she owns the seas, and Germany's chief fault is the exasperating persistence with which she builds up a navy. Italians of the "peace" party condemn war, but they justify the conquest of Tripoli; and there are Americans, for example, Mr. William Randolph Hearst and Mr. Richmond P. Hobson, who demand a strong American navy to dominate the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Such views are often uttered. A certain famous "peace advocate" once said that he would shoulder the gun himself to keep the Japanese out of the United States, and Mr. Tschirn, whose German poem we have quoted above, also belongs to those who desire "peace at any price."

There are some in England who declare that the present war will be the last one; that it is commendable, because it is a war against militarism; but one Englishman, Mr. C. Cohen, a liberal and freethinker, prophesies that this war can not lead to peace, but is sowing future discord. He says: "Who is to say that there shall be no more wars? Is it England? Is it Russia? Is it France? Is it the three combined? Will any of these trust the others enough to depute the task? Are Russia and France and England in alliance with each other because of their mutual love or because of their enmity of others? Was it love of Russia that drove France into alliance, or hatred of Germany? And with Germany eliminated what bond is there that can unite the autocracy of the Czar and the republicanism of France?"

He continues: "An international agreement that would secure peace is a laudable ideal, but how is it to be secured? England, it may be assumed, will still demand the control of the seas. It suits us, and we say it is necessary to our existence. Very good; but can we expect every other country to submit to this ownership of the world's highway for ever and with good feeling? Why, this fact alone will drive other nations along the old line of offensive and defensive alliances, the fruits of which we are reaping in the present war. And alliances based upon such considerations as hold the Christian nations of the world together may be broken at any moment. Nor is there any power based upon force too strong to be overthrown. Of course, it may be said that it is to everybody's interest that some international agreement should be reached when this war is concluded, and such outbreaks prevented in future. Quite so; but, on the other hand, it is never to anybody's real

* See "The Metaphysical Point of View of Italy in the Turkish War" in *The Open Court*, XXVI, p. 190.

interest to go to war. Even to win is to lose. The truth is, that nations do not go to war because it really pays them, but because of misdirected ambitions and mistaken ideals; in other words, because of lack of intelligence and defective civilization.

"How wrongly the lessons of this war are being read, may be seen in the newspaper talk about 'blotting Germany out,' or 'wiping Germany off the map.' These are the greatest fools of all. If by 'blotting out Germany' is meant the destruction of the German navy and defeat of the German army, that may be done, and looks like being done—unless our press censorship is keeping us in the dark. But Germany remains, the German people remain, German ambitions remain, and there will also remain the memory of a crushing defeat. And the man is a lunatic, blind alike to the lessons of history and the facts of human nature, who imagines that a nation of seventy millions can be 'blotted out.' All the power of Russia has not been able to crush the sentiment of nationality in Finland. All the power of Russia, Germany and Austria has not been able to crush out the sentiment of nationality in Poland. After four centuries, England, in spite of all it could do, finds the sentiment of Irish nationality as active as ever. Short of an absolute, a complete massacre, a nation of seventy millions cannot be 'blotted out.' They remain, their ideals and ambitions, and their way of looking at life, must always be reckoned with.

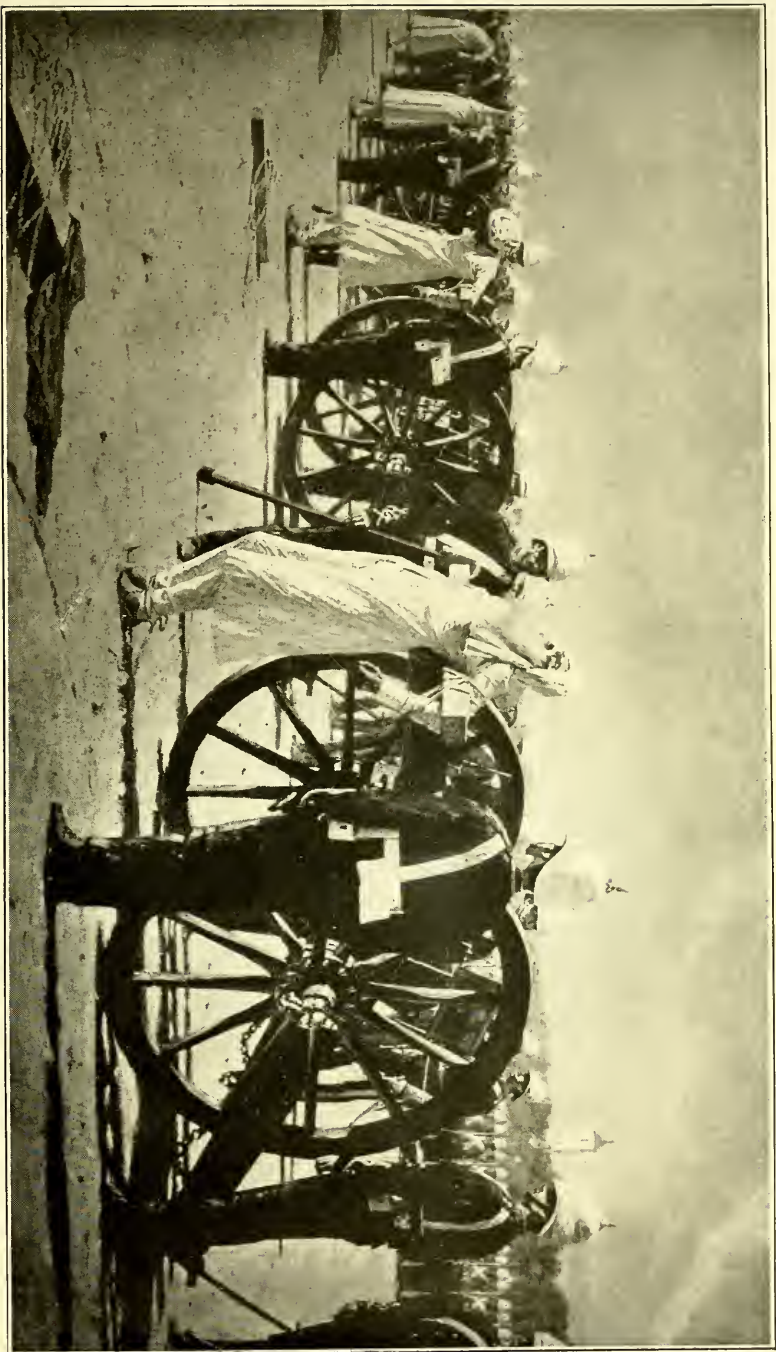
"Armaments will go on; of that I feel assured, although I should be only too pleased to find myself mistaken."

Note that Mr. Cohen expects Great Britain and her allies to win, but his belief is subject to a slight doubt. Certainly we agree with him in his conclusion when he says: "There is only one way to peace; and that is the growth of intelligence and humanity."

The peace advocates in England are certainly mistaken if they claim that this war is a war against militarism and that it will be the last war. There are symptoms of a growing militarism.

The British government has come to the conclusion that the war will not be so easy as originally supposed. It will need more soldiers, and so recruiting offices are opened. We read in the newspapers that Rudyard Kipling has offered his oratorical talent to persuade young men to join the army, and that he said:

"We must have many men, if we, with the allies, are to check the inrush of organized barbarism. We have only to look to Belgium to realize the minimum of what we may expect here. Germany's real object is the capture of England's wealth, trade and world-wide possessions."



INDIA PACATA.
By Verestchagin.



EXECUTION OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS.
By Verestchagin.

If you knew a little more about Germany and were a little less infected with English egotism, Mr. Kipling, you would be ashamed of what you have said!

Speaking at a great recruiting meeting in Liverpool, Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, said: "If the German navy does not come out and fight, they will be brought out like rats in a hole. . . . The English should have no anxiety about the result of the war."

No comment is necessary on this specimen of modern English, as spoken in these days by the men who are guiding English destinies. England's navy must be proud of the First Lord of the Admiralty.

In the second week of September another inducement to join the army appeared in London, on large bill-boards which read thus:

"We've got to beat Germany because her arrogant brutality is a menace to civilization; because she breaks treaties; because she murders non-combatants; because she destroys beautiful cities; because she sows mines in the open sea; because she fires on the sacred Red Cross; because her avowed object is to crush England.

"Men of England, remember Louvain.

"The fight is democracy vs. tyranny.

"Do you wish to share the fate of Belgium?

"If not, enlist now."

Why did the author of these posters not say: "The Germans are cannibals; they are coming to roast your babies for supper and will make boots of human skin!" Such descriptions of the Germans might have been more effective. They would not have been less false than the placard, and would have been more fanciful, more poetical and more romantic. In modern English newspapers, Germany is almost comparable to the ogre shouting:

"Fee, Fi, Fo, Fum,

I smell the blood of an Englishman.

Be he alive or be he dead,

I'll grind his bones to make my bread."

My dear English friends: If your liberty is really at stake, rush to the colors, have your names enrolled in your country's service, take up arms to defend England's honor; but I fear the honor of England has been tarnished, not by the Germans, but by your own ministers, by your statesmen, your diplomats, by those men who, by their secret treaties, by the machinations of the Triple Entente, have led you into a most perverse and stupid war. If your country needs defense, join the army, but first have your generals replaced by

capable men, men who are able to meet an enemy as great as your Saxon brothers of the continent. And, above all, see to it that you fight for a cause that is honorable, not merely a flimsy excuse to rid your shop-keepers of a dangerous rival, even though the sum at stake may average two hundred million pounds a year! Fight for a cause endorsed by men of understanding, by men of honor!

And if you fight, do not slander your enemy, do not discredit him, do not lie about him, do not brag about your own superiority, your greater prowess, your courage, your unrivaled heroism; history will correct your bravadoes and you are running the risk of making yourselves ridiculous. The writer of these lines has been your friend, your defender, your supporter. He feels ashamed now of the misjudgment he has shown, and even yet he feels inclined to defend you by saying that, in his opinion, you English people are perfectly honorable, and that it is only a very small diplomatic clique that has misled you. This small clique has brought on the war without the consent of the people, and even now your government establishes a censorship of news and propagates deliberate falsehoods for the sake of defending the war, and to induce English youths to prop up the blunders that have been made.

I would try to convince you that, by provoking the war, Great Britain has not only done wrong—a grievous wrong—but she has proved to be blind. The war policy leads you to your own ruin. You have made an enemy of a people that has been your friend, and, in Germany, you will have a most insistent and dangerous enemy. At present you do not care, but the time will come when you will regret having lost Germany's good will. I can not help seeing *greater danger in this war for England than for Germany*. Great Britain is scarcely prepared to face the danger.

As soon as war has begun, people, as a rule, become impervious to reason, and I fear that my friends in England have reached that stage. They have grown mad; they have become incapable of arguing calmly and impartially. They believe all, they hope all, they suffer all. They believe all accusations against their enemies, the most impossible ones. They hope for victories where there is but little if any chance. They suffer defeats with patience, in anticipation of a final triumph which they, in their vanity, think must be theirs.

In Germany, warfare has been developed into a science, and it is not left to a genius who is able to assume leadership. The German army is a school in which German youths are trained to be good soldiers, and the German general staff is also a school in which

officers are instructed in strategy. There is not a Moltke to lead them, but Moltke's spirit guides them all. Should one of them die to-day, even if he occupy the highest rank, there are dozens who can take up the work.

The indignation of the Germans against the English is tremendous. The Germans were prepared for French hatred and Russian impudence, but the bickerings between these brother nations were (at least in the writer's opinion) petty jealousies such as often exist among quarrelsome brothers. But now England declares war at a moment when Germany is in the greatest danger from the simultaneous attack of her two neighbors, in the east and in the west, the two mightiest land-powers next to herself. And at this critical moment for Germany, England casts in her lot with Germany's foes, in the hope of dealing a crushing blow. But England may be mistaken. Things may turn out differently from what is now expected. My good English friends, how I wish you had not been so rash in venturing into this war—this abominable war, this vicious, mean, ill-intentioned war, this most stupid war.

The Roman proverb says, *Quem Deus perdere vult eum dementat*. When surrounded by enemies, Ulrich von Hutten, the valiant knight of the age of the Reformation, exclaimed, *Viel Feind, viel Ehr!* Certainly, Germany, much honor is thine, for thine enemies are numerous, and England among them! What a glory for Germany! What a shame on England!

Quantilla prudentia Britannia regitur! How small is the wisdom with which Great Britain is ruled.

CONCLUSION.

A few personal comments may throw light on the fundamental conception upon which my opinion of the war rests. I have been, for almost my entire life, since I began to think, an advocate of the federation of the great Teutonic nations, as a guarantee of the peace of the world,—Great Britain and her colonies, Germany with Austria, and the United States.

This political ideal of mine is not founded upon pan-Germanism, though it does not in the least exclude it. Modern civilization has been worked out in England, Germany and the United States. Here are the centers of progress, here live the people from whom we may expect further progress, deeper thought, clearer science, and advancement in a conception as well as in a realization of noble humanity. Other smaller countries cluster about them; they are

either of kindred blood or kindred language and thought. They belong to them as younger brothers who look up respectfully to their elder brothers.

If these three groups of nations, centering about Germany, England and the United States, stand together, the peace of the world will be assured. So long as they do the right, all the smaller nationalities, states and groups of states will have to behave, and the peaceful realization of a highly cultured civilization will most assuredly be ours. But now this ideal—a by no means impossible one—has become an illusion. My hope of seeing it established has now, within a day, turned to despair. And why? Because one brother does not want another one to grow beyond his present stature. The Anglo-Saxon grew at first more quickly than the older German, but since, of late, the German has made a sudden start, and threatens to outdo the Saxon, the specter of war has appeared, and the two brothers face each other, sword in hand. And the end will be that one of them will fall. What a tragedy for mankind! Whatever the final result may be, mankind, with its ideals, will be the loser.

Woe unto those villainous advisers who have begun the war. They think themselves wise, but they are short-sighted. They appeal to the lowest and vilest motives of their countrymen, and hope to enrich their country by the ruin of their brothers. Woe unto them! The curse of their own people will most surely fall upon them. So far the English people seem only to have expected to see the Germans crushed between the French and the Russians. But what if Germany should rise beyond her present state, and develop a grandeur of untold strength? What if the spirit of God should come upon her, and she should smite her foes, and chastise them according to their deserts? What if, after conquering her Gallic enemy, she should overcome the giant Slav, and finally the Saxon, her own wicked brother beyond the channel?

My dear English friends! I love the English nation, and I wish that England could be regenerated. On my last visit to Europe I beheld with joy a new growth in France, but sensible thoughtful minds do not yet figure sufficiently in her politics. They are still in the minority. Any mob of self-styled patriots can cry them down, and if they should ever dare to utter an honest opinion they would be denounced as traitors.* In Germany I have witnessed an almost incredible advance in every line, and though there

* M. Jaure was against the war and he was shot by an unknown hand. No serious effort appears to have been made to punish the assassin.

are still many things which have not my approval, I must state my conviction that, upon the whole, the life of the nation is developing in the right direction. Even a hater of Germany cannot deny her his admiration. In England conditions are different; wretched poverty, almost unknown on the continent, is apparent in the very streets of London, and in the by-ways of the country. My dear good English friends, believe me, for the sake of your own best interests, that you cannot enrich your poor countrymen by ruining your German brothers on the other side of the channel. It will do you no good to wipe the Teuton, with his competition, off of the face of the earth, but it will be terrible to face him when he rises against you with all his might, in his just wrath. Why did Greece fall? Because Sparta and Athens hated each other. Will you not learn from history, and must you repeat the sin of older generations, only to reap the same punishment? The Germanic civilization, represented by Germany, England and the United States, is leading now, but the Slav hopes to take their place, and the Japanese, the most active people of the yellow race, are filled with ambition also to enter the field. An internecine war of the Germanic nations is apt to pave the way for both Slav and Asiatic ascendancy.

As a friend of the English, and also in the interest of the further development of the British empire, I cannot help feeling a grim dissatisfaction with English politics. The present war which Great Britain has undertaken against Germany and Austria-Hungary is against the real, the vital, and the all-important interest of Great Britain; hence I believe that the statesmen who, by their advice, their conduct, and their decisions, have brought about this war, have shown an obvious lack of judgment and have become guilty of gross criminality.

The war is unjust, the leaders of government affairs have not been fair to the German cause; but, in addition, they have neglected to acquire even the most superficial information about the ability of the German people to wage a war, and have thoughtlessly and unnecessarily changed a vigorous, powerful and friendly nation into a most formidable foe. The consequences of this action will endure into the most distant future, and can, under no circumstances, even in case of a victory, ever be or become favorable. And, in addition, England will, of course, have to suffer the usual curses which follow in the wake of war,—slaughter and ruin, the blighting of civilization and culture, of industry and commerce, and the death knell of the blessings of peace.

The men of England who have advocated the war and have

stirred the English people with hatred, are guilty of the blackest crime; they have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, that sin which can never be forgiven. If I were an English citizen, I would advocate their removal from those high offices which they have so shamefully disgraced, and would even go so far as to have them indicted for high treason against Great Britain for their neglect of duty and because they have brought upon the British empire the curse of evil counsel.

* * *

The outbreak of war between Great Britain and Germany has proved to me the greatest and saddest disappointment of my life. I have investigated the conditions and motives which led to it with sincere impartiality, but I have come to definite conclusions which place the guilt first of all, mainly and almost exclusively at the door of English diplomacy. Should I be mistaken, I wish to be refuted not by general declarations against German militarism, by denunciations of Kaiserism and Prussianism, such as betray mere ignorance and prejudice, but by real facts or good, sound arguments. I am open to conviction and I shall carefully study all answers which contain actual points worth considering, yea, I will give publicity to them and, in case I shall have to change my views, promise to confess my errors openly and without reluctance.

MISCELLANEOUS.

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

While traveling through England last year (1913), I happened to pick up an attractive photograph taken and printed by Judges' Ltd., Photographic Publishers (Hastings), symbolizing peace by a cannon overgrown with ivy, and as this number of *The Open Court* discusses war, I use this photograph as a cover design because it symbolizes our hope which we, as neutrals, long for most anxiously.

Another photograph by the same firm shows sunlight spreading over an English coast town, probably Hastings, and above it in the clouds the mirage of a temple—an ideal vision in the heavens that appears to dreamers, as if it were possible to build up peace on earth and let good will prevail among men. On account of the intrinsic beauty of the scene over which the rays of light spread like a benediction, we have chosen it as our frontispiece.

Another picture in this number is the famous old castle of Heidelberg, one of the most glorious scenes of a romantic past, and once the palace of the Palatinate. In 1688, a French army, without warning and without reason, fell upon the rich and attractive valleys of the Neckar and the Rhine and ruthlessly devastated the country, plundering, ravaging and burning cities, villages and palaces. The tombs of the old emperors at Worms were desecrated and the dust of their dead bodies scattered to the wind. The Heidelberg castle shown in our picture has not been rebuilt, and its ruins are so very beautiful that it is famous as an historic point of interest known to tourists of all nations. It is a memento of Germany's frequent sad experiences before the development of her militarism.

We publish further three views of the quaint old city of Nuremberg, a peaceful unfortified town. It is almost forgotten that according to newspaper accounts, the first bombs were not dropped over Antwerp or France or England, but from French aeroplanes on this city of old German art.

Germany was overrun 109 years ago, in 1805, by the great conqueror Napoleon I, but after eight years his power was broken in 1813 by a desperate struggle, the great battle of the nations at Leipsic, in which weakened Prussia and Austria, supported by the Russians, beat the French invader. It is only a year ago that the Germans celebrated the centennial anniversary of this important victory and unveiled the monument at Leipsic.

The style of the monument is heavy and expresses gloom, or bereavement, a sentiment of sadness; it appears more like a mausoleum than a monument of triumph. The figures standing at the top are conceived as a death-guard, mourning the victims whose lives were sacrificed for German liberty.

Verestchagin's picture "India Pacata" possesses a peculiar interest. It was called by the artist "Blown from the Cannon's Mouth," and as we gaze on it, we behold a strangely impressive tragedy representing the execution of rebel

Hindus who are thus punished for their love of country and their hatred for British rule. In defense of this unusual punishment, it is claimed that according to Hindu religion, death would be no deterrent, because the Brahmans believe in immortality. Therefore their bodies were blown to pieces so as to destroy every chance of reincarnation.

Another painting by Verestchagin shows us to what terrible uses a sacred place may be put in war time. Here French grenadiers are seen executing Russian peasants inside a church, because they have somehow given offense to the invaders.

NOTES.

The story of the origin of the war has been misrepresented in English dispatches to such an extent that there are many people in English speaking countries who believe that Emperor William had a spell of madness, while in fact he was compelled to begin a tremendous war against his inclination. Formerly he was always friendly to the English, and with reference to the channel that divided the two nations, he declared repeatedly that "blood is thicker than water." (In 1896, 1900, and 1903. See Büchmann's *Ges. Worte*, 24th ed., p. 592.)

The Belgian delegates to the United States have published an account of the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and of the laws of war on Belgian territory under the title *The Case of Belgium*. It gives the impression that the Germans are brutal savages. Whereas the fight between the civilians and the German troops in Louvain was bitter and lasted two days (see p. 633 of the present number), our delegates claim that the Germans "were shot on entering the city by their own fellow soldiers who took them for enemies," and "the statement that civilians had fired shots is a pure allegation." Obviously this pamphlet has an ulterior aim other than the truth; it is a partisan statement and should be received, as President Wilson has done, with necessary reserve. Some of the stories are extremely improbable, others actually presuppose that the Germans have been shot at or killed from houses. The German side is never heard; sometimes it is mentioned but only to be dismissed as impossible. President Wilson received the delegates very kindly but refused "to form or express a final judgment."

The spirit of Chinese culture is against war. Confucius expressed his condemnation of warlike policy indirectly, and as a result China has been a victim of warlike nations. In fact at present she must suffer the breach of neutrality at the hand of her little neighbor, Japan. Confucius's rival, the old philosopher commonly called Lao-tze, was also in favor of peace but he was not against war. His views of war are expressed in Chapters 30 and 31 of his *Canon of Reason and Virtue*. He says:

"Where armies are quartered briars and thorns grow. Great wars unfailingly are followed by famines. A good man acts resolutely and then stops. He ventures not to take by force.

"Be resolute but not boastful; resolute but not haughty; resolute but not arrogant; resolute because you cannot avoid it; resolute but not violent.

"Arms are unblest among tools and not the superior man's tools. Only when it is unavoidable he uses them. Peace and quietude he holdeth high."

UNIQUE PUBLISHING HOUSE

WORK OF THE "OPEN COURT" IN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

**Founded by a Zinc Manufacturer Who
Made It the Ambition of His Life "to
Prove that There Is a God"—Story of
Two Germans and the Enterprise They
Founded.**

Chicago, September 14.—Some magazines and newspapers have been justly described as "institutions." There are old and honorable publishing houses in every civilized country that are regarded as belonging to its institutions. Age, a consistent and good record, noteworthy achievements, a high professional and business ideal are among the elements that go to make a house or periodical a veritable institution.

If we apply such tests and definitions as these to the Open Court Publishing Company, it may with justice be called an institution. Very old it is not, for it was founded in 1887, but in twenty-seven years a firm, like an individual, can accomplish a great deal and establish a reputation or create a distinctive place for itself.

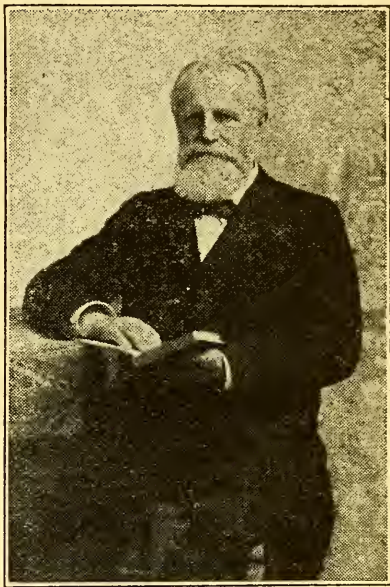
The Open Court Publishing Company has created such a place for itself. It was founded for a definite purpose, has adhered to that purpose, and has not only seen remarkable progress toward its goal—progress due to many factors, tangible and intangible, including "the spirit of the age"—but has directly and greatly contributed to that progress.

Today it is scarcely necessary to preach or urge breadth and tolerance in religious and theological discussion. Today it is scarcely necessary to defend the existence of periodicals published in the interest of enlightened and scientific religion. Dogma is dead. The schools of theology, whether independent or parts of universities, have been revolutionized. A graduate of a theological school or seminary must be familiar with science and at home in the higher criticism. What is orthodox today in graduates or young ministers would have been startling heterodoxy twenty-seven years ago.

Among the agencies that have brought about the change of attitude and atmosphere, the Open Court Publishing Company, with its periodicals and growing list of solid, standard, and scholarly books—American, English and translat-

ed—claims a conspicuous place. The history of this house is interesting and even dramatic.

The Open Court Publishing Company, with the Open Court, then a weekly journal (now a monthly), was founded by Edward C. Hegeler, of La Salle, Illinois, in 1887, for the declared purpose of establishing religions and ethics on



EDWARD C. HEGELER, founder of the Open Court Magazine, the Monist, and the Open Court Publishing Company of Chicago, devoted to the cause of showing that the truths of science furnish the data of sound religion. An article about this unusual publishing institution appears elsewhere in today's issue of the Evening Post.

a scientific basis. In 1890, Mr. Hegeler started *The Monist*, a quarterly, for the purpose of studying and promoting the study of the philosophy of science. Dr. Paul Carus, the present editor of these periodicals and manager of the publishing house, has been associated with the work since the close of 1887—practically from the outset.

Founded by a Manufacturer

Mr. Hegeler was a manufacturer and very successful man of affairs. He was a German by birth and regular education. He was born in Bremen in 1835 and received a scientific and technical training. He studied mechanical engineering, and one of his teachers was the famous mathematician, Prof. Julius Weisbach (whose daughter by the way, Mr. Hegeler subsequently married). Mr.

Hegeler, however, was educated by his father, who had traveled in America and had become deeply interested in the cultural, industrial, and political progress of this republic, for a career in America.

Hegeler pere selected his youngest son for the mission of carrying the German spirit to the young Republic of the West and transplanting there the seeds of Germanic culture. The young Hegeler came to this country in 1857 with full consciousness of and pride in his mission, and with a profound love of freedom, republicanism and idealism in thought and conduct.

He spent a year in traveling and prospecting in the Middle West, and then settled in La Salle and established, with a partner, a pioneer zinc factory. The small enterprise flourished and made Mr. Hegeler a wealthy man. But he always lived simply and quietly, devoting his leisure to study and propaganda. He was deeply religious in the philosophical sense of the word and was desirous of spreading the light he had gained from psychology and science generally among his fellow-citizens and others.

As a child he had been brought up in the Evangelical Reformed Church, but he modified his religious belief at an early age. He became a monist, and *his* ideas of God, the soul, immortality, etc., were so vital and dear to him that he conceived it to be his chief duty in life to teach and disseminate those ideas in the most effective way possible.

"My life would be a success," he used to say, "if it could be proved through me that there is a God." Concerning the soul, he said: "I do not have a soul; I am a soul, for the ideas which I think I am myself." Again: "It would be wrong to say that we have no soul, or that modern psychology is a psychology without a soul, for all our thinking, our ideas, our intentions are our soul, and we can make our ideas live after us, which means that we can become immortal in the race."

Discovered a Kindred Spirit

Mr. Hegeler had some difficulty at first in getting his views properly presented to the international public he was endeavoring to reach. In Dr. Paul Carus, however, he soon found the man he needed. Dr. Carus, also a German by birth and early training, gave up a position as a scientific teacher in the Royal Corps of Cadets, Dresden, Germany, because he wanted absolute independence and opportunity to express freely and fully his own philosophical and religious ideas. His desire for independence brought him to America.

Dr. Carus and Mr. Hegeler met and found themselves in substantial accord, the former having in several books he had published prior to his connection with the latter expounded doctrines essentially and fundamentally similar to those Mr. Hegeler was seeking to systematize and adequately present to the world. On Dr. Carus thus devolved the task of organizing and working out their common ideas into a clear and coherent system that might be called the Philosophy of Science or the Religion of Science.

To revert now to the mission and aims of the *Open Court* and the *Monist*, a few sentences will sum up the leading ideas of their editor, Dr. Carus. He holds that the truths of science furnish us the data for a sound, pure, and exalted religion; that scientific truth is a revelation; that the course of the religious development of mankind has followed natural law, and has not been capricious or accidental; that the breakdown of ancient myths and beliefs was as inevitable as the gradual yielding of mere dogma in modern religions to philosophical conceptions and interpretations; that God becomes known to man through reason and experience; that the laws of the universe and of society, the conditions of the moral order, are God himself; that we are in the presence of God when we think a noble and disinterested or pure thought.

October 1914



Monthly Descriptive List



Monthly descriptive list of new and recent books on Sciences,
Philosophies, Comparative Religions and Literatures of the world

Open Court Publishing Company

Room 1001, 122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago

Any book in the following list sent postpaid on receipt of price

New and Recent Books on Science, Philosophy and Religion

Scientific Method in Philosophy. Lowell Lectures for 1914. By Honorable Bertrand Russell, M.A., Cambridge, England. Pp. 246, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$2.00.

Our present philosophical age is one of bewildered groping, and according to Russell the time has now arrived when this unsatisfactory state of things can be brought to an end. He proposes to take certain philosophies as examples, and to show why their achievements have not been greater. Professor R. M. Wenley of the University of Michigan says, "Every student of philosophy must reckon with these Lowell lectures."

Problems of Science. By Federigo Enriques. Authorized translation by Katherine Royce. Pp. 300, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$2.50.

The author is professor of projective geometry in the University of Bologna and is one of the most conspicuous of contemporary Italian scientists. Dr. Royce says "this book is by far the most thorough and synthetic treatment of the problems of scientific methodology which belongs to recent years."

"The work before us is perhaps the most considerable contribution to the discussion since Mill."—The Nation.

Professor W. B. Smith, Tulane University, says: "I propose to use Enriques' 'Problems of Science' as the basis of a course in scientific philosophy."

Waves of Sand and Snow. By Vaughan Cornish, Doctor of Science, Manchester University. Pp. 378, 8vo.; cloth. Illustrated; 88 photographs and 30 diagrams, and two maps. Price, \$2.50.

A book of experiment and observation of the behavior of gravel, sand, and dust before the wind. It is a strange thing that waves, progressive and transverse, should be pro-

duced by wind on sand and snow, for the action of wind upon other loose bodies is of an opposite kind. Dr. Cornish is an acknowledged authority on the subject of wave action, and he believes that the co-ordinated study of all kinds of waves might lead to important developments of the periodic law governing the direction of moving bodies. Some of the important chapters, well illustrated, are On the Formation of Deltas; Sand Dunes; Clouds; Sand Waves in Tidal Currents. All of these wind formations are of great interest at the present time, especially the chapter on aerial currents in cloud formation. Beside its scientific value, the book offers an interesting guide to the study of local geography, especially in the Great Lakes territory and in the sand dunes of Indiana.

The Algebra of Logic. By Louis Couturat. Authorized translation by Lydia G. Robinson, with preface by Philip E. B. Jourdain. Pp. 41, 8vo.; cloth. An introduction to the study of mathematical logic. Price, \$1.50.

One of the simplest and most concise treatments of the subject of symbolic logic. The preface is of an historical character and gives a very thorough account of the development of the subject and the various phases of it, especially emphasized by each of its different representatives.

History of Japanese Mathematics. By Yoshio Mikami and David Eugene Smith. Pp. 302, 8vo.; cloth. Richly illustrated. Price \$3.00.

In considering the relative progress of European and Japanese mathematics there are two topics in which the Japanese made greater progress than the West. First comes the idea of a negative number. This appears in the second century B. C. and was probably even

more ancient (p. 48) and is embodied in the use of red (*) and black (-) pieces on the 'sangi' board or abacus. It is not too much to say that the educational mathematics of the West has not yet gained so firm a grasp of the use of the negative number as the Japanese had in the 17th century.

The second important advantage gained by the Japanese was the method (equivalent to Horner's method) for the solution of numerical equations. The sangi or soroban, the abacus which the Japanese still employ, gave useful aid. The question whether the abacus in elementary education may not prepare us for the day when a calculation machine will cost less than a bicycle is an open one. The Japanese at present keep to the soroban, with such a reason in mind.

"The authors have conferred a real service to all mathematicians by the loving care with which they have set out the story of mathematics in Japan."—C. S. Jackson.

A New Logic. By Dr. Charles Mercier. Physician for mental diseases at Charing Cross Hospital, London. Pp. 422. Price, \$3.00.

Modern philosophy, from Descartes onwards, though not bound by authority like that of the Middle Ages, still accepts more or less uncritically, the Aristotelian logic. Its advocates are in the main those whose extra philosophical knowledge is literary rather than those who have felt the inspiration of science. It is still believed that a priori reasoning can reveal otherwise undiscoverable secrets of the universe, and can prove reality to be quite different from what to direct observation it appears to be. It is this belief, rather than any particular tenets resulting from it, that this author regards as the main obstacle to a scientific attitude in logic.

The Historical Christ; or, An Investigation of the Views of Mr. J. A. Robertson, Dr. A. Drews and Prof. W. B. Smith. By Fred Conybeare, M.A., F.B.A. Pp. 235, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.50 net.

Whenever a book appears that aims to be a middle ground in scientific criticism of that much discussed question, The Historicity of Jesus, you may be sure it will be instantly attacked by both sides to the controversy. In this present instance the orthodox writers are very much pleased to find that Conybeare deals the Christ Myth idea a smashing blow. As a perennial challenge, Jesus is perhaps the most attractive figure for modern apologists, but much theological ammunition is aimed too high to hit the average reader. In this day and generation of Christian civilization, it is far more important to know how to get the range for big guns, than to know whether and wherefore Jesus lived and died. The acid-test is now being applied to Christian ethics in Europe and results make it less important than usual to know on which side you are standing concerning the historicity of Jesus.

The Culture of Ancient Israel By Carl H. Cornill. Pp. 200, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.00.

"No writer on Old Testament times has set

forth his theme more picturesquely than Cornill. There is something intensely lifelike and oftentimes dramatic in the presentation of his subject. Thoroughly scholarly in his spirit, he is popular in his manner and this new book is a strong addition to his two noted works on 'The History of Israel' and 'The Prophets.' In this little volume he has collected what seems to be five popular essays dealing with the culture of Israel as it is seen in the Old Testament."—Boston Transcript.

Nietzsche and Other Exponents of Individualism. By Paul Carus. Illustrated with portraits of Nietzsche. Cloth. Price, \$1.25.

A well-balanced presentation of Nietzsche's philosophy. The appearance of a philosopher like Nietzsche is a symptom of the times. He is one representative among several others of an anti-scientific tendency. The author here characterizes him as a poet rather than a thinker, as a leader and an exponent of certain unruly and immature minds. Though his philosophy is severely criticized, though it is weighed and found wanting, his personality is described not without sympathy and with an appreciation of his genius. His predecessor, Max Stirner, and other kindred spirits less known than Nietzsche, are also introduced, and if the reader adopts the author's views he will condemn the tendencies and thoughts of these erratic philosophers but at the same time appreciate their aspirations and love them in their very errors. The fundamental error of them all is an extreme individualism which regards every single person as an absolute autonomous sovereign being, while a consideration of the origin of personality proves them to have originated with, in, and under the influence of the social surroundings of communities from which they cannot be separated and of which they are parts.

Life as Reality. A Philosophical Essay. By Arthur Stone Dewing. Pp. 214, 12mo.; cloth. Price, \$1.25.

It is in the effort and not in the goal that we must search for reality. Reality comes only through actual living and not through scholastic sophistry.

The Game of Mind. By Percy A. Campbell. Pp. 80, 16mo.; cloth. Price, 75c.

A study in psychological disillusionment, popular in treatment.

Psychology: The Study of Behavior. By William McDougall. Pp. 247, 12mo.; cloth. Price, 50c.

The study of consciousness or introspection enables us to control our own behavior or that of others.

The Problems of Philosophy. By Bertrand Russell. Pp. 250, 12mo.; cloth. Price, 50c.

The study of philosophy enriches intellectual imagination, and renders the mind great in contemplating the universe in its search for certainty.

Creative Evolution. By Henri Bergson. Pp. 407, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$2.50.

Our intellect, in the narrow sense of the word, is intended to secure the perfect fitting of our body to its environment, to represent

the relations of external things among themselves—in short, to think matter. This is one of the conclusions of the present volume.

The Victory of the Will. By Victor Charbonnel. Pp. 331, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.50.

The supernatural of one century is the commonplace reality of the succeeding one. A plea for the development of one's own personality by means of its own inner power and the free will to live.

Psychology and Life. By Hugo Munsterberg. Pp. 280; cloth. Price, \$1.80.

Six essays in which the author's aim is to show that psychology is not at all an expression of reality but a complicated transformation of it worked out for logical purposes in the service of our lives. Psychology is a special abstract construction which has a right to consider everything from its own important standpoint but which has nothing to assert in regard to the interpretation and appreciation of our real freedom and duty, our real values and ideals.

The Principles of Pragmatism. By H. Heath Bawden. Pp. 355, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.50.

"Some people swallow the universe like a pill. It is better to emit a scream in the shape of a theory than to be insensible to the jars and incongruities of life and take everything as it comes in a forlorn stupidity." A quotation that may describe Pragmatism.

The New Philosophy of Henri Bergson. By Edouard LeRoy. Pp. 235, 12mo.; cloth. Price, \$1.25.

A simple outline of Bergson's philosophy which will make it easier to read and understand his works.

Education and the Philosophical Ideal. By Horatio W. Dresser. Pp. 255; cloth. Price, \$1.25.

Life is educational and according to the ideals we hold, we are moulded unconsciously.

Natural Philosophy. By Wilhelm Ostwald. Pp. 193, 12mo.; cloth. Price, \$1.00.

A brief survey of all the sciences aiming to provide a complete syntheses of the results of the specialization of the last half century. The author was Professor of Physical Chemistry at Leipzig and winner of the Nobel prize in 1909.

SOCIOLOGY.

Money and the Mechanism of Exchange. By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A., F.R.S. Pp. 342, 12mo.; cloth. Price, \$1.75.

The subject of money has a very extensive literature. The purpose of this book is to select from this mass just such facts as are useful in enabling the general public to arrive at an understanding of what currency really represents.

Mother. By Maxim Gorky. Pp. 532, 8vo.; cloth.

A heart-rending picture of domestic life under present industrial tyranny in Russia, written in story form.

Percy Bysshe Shelley. Poet and Pioneer. By Henry S. Salt. Pp. 135, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.00.

Shelley as a socialist rather than a poet is the author's theme. Shelley's attack on the

established religion and its ethics drew upon him such a storm of conflicting criticism that he is to this day an attractive subject for radical writers.

Immigration. By Prescott T. Hall. Pp. 392, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.50.

The subject of this book is one of the public problems of America. The author is secretary of the Immigration League. He discusses the effect of immigrants upon the United States with special attention to the Chinese.

Liberalism. By L. T. Hobhouse. Pp. 251, 12mo.; cloth. Price, 50c.

The modern state is the product of a unique civilization. It is still in the making and a part of the process is described here as liberalism.

Common Sense in Law. By Paul Vinogradoff. Pp. 253, 12mo.; cloth. Price, 50c.

Things have moved since Blackstone's day, and it is now the privilege of all educated persons to form public opinion, one of the most potent factors in producing and modifying law.

The Socialist Movement. By J. Ramsay MacDonald. Pp. 252, 12mo.; cloth. Price, 50c.

A summary of the progress of socialistic parties in the leading nations. A first-class handbook for all who desire a clear account of the ideals, demands and methods of socialism.

Brain Power for Business Men. By Annie Payson Call. Cloth. Price, 75c.

Young men should own and read this valuable treatise on the economy of that living machine, the human brain.

The Problem of Freedom. By George H. Palmer. Pp. 203, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.25.

One of the best expositions of cause and effect in relation to determinism-ideals-chance, with a closing and very good chapter on varieties of doctrine.

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The starting point of the new political economy is the study of consumption and the formulation of the theory of demand.

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When a foreman discharges the best worker in his gang because of his own jealousy or ill-temper, or both, the loss to their common employer may run into thousands of dollars.

Social Justice Without Socialism. By John Bates Clark, Professor of Political Economy at Columbia University. Cloth. Price, 50c.

The new economic order deals largely with the moral law in its bearing on business life and it is a good thing for the average man to read books of this character in order to learn what is being taught on the subject in colleges and universities.

Modern Industry: In Relation to the Family, Health, Education and Morality. By Florence Kelly. Pp. 148; cloth. Price, \$1.00.

A careful personal study of the management of interests that profit by the labor of women and children and the resulting loss of home life. The book consists mostly of facts gained from personal experience by the author in her long years of factory inspection.

Violence and the Labor Movement. By Robert Hunter. Pp. 388; cloth. Price, \$1.50.

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The Small Family System: Is It Injurious or Immoral? By C. V. Drysdale. Pp. 118; cloth. Price, \$1.00.

Three methods are used in arriving at the conclusion of this interesting essay. (a) The opinions of medical authorities and experts. (b) Considering the conduct in this respect of these authorities themselves. (c) By studying the course of the health and morality of the community as limitations of families become more general.

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The Awakening East offers no picture more interesting than the study of the intellectual and economic status of women in Japan.

Woman, Marriage and Motherhood. By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, with an introduction by Mrs. Frederick Schoff. Pp. 275; cloth. Price, \$1.50.

Mother force is beginning to be a factor in social reform. The author cites an astonishing fact that at the present stage of human evolution two-thirds of the race are polygamous. This degradation of motherhood is the worst form of racial suicide. The true relationship of the sexes is mutual rights, love, protection and respect.

Socialism; Promise or Menace. By Morris Hillquit and John A. Ryan. Pp. 265; cloth. Price, \$1.25.

A joint debate upon the right or wrong of socialism in which the opposing arguments are presented with completeness and competence. The reader will be interested in the personnel of the authors and the circumstances that have brought them into debate, as stated in the introduction of this book.

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The figure of Humanity is majestic Motherhood in whom all men are brothers and whose religion is love. This book was written as part of a propaganda for the philosophy of August Comte.

The Historical Geography of the Holy Land. By George Adam Smith. Pp. 695, 8vo.; cloth. Many fine maps. Price, \$3.75.

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The Culture of Ancient Israel. By Carl H. Cornill, Professor of Old Testament History in the University of Halle. Pp. 168; cloth. Numerous illustrations. Price, \$1.50 net.

Contents: Rise of the people of Israel. Moses the founder of Monotheistic Religion. Education of children in Ancient Israel. Music in the Old Testament. The Psalms of Universal Literature.

The Psychology of Religious Experiences. By Edward Scribner Ames. Pp. 425, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$2.50.

The study of religion as a history of the psychical experiences of mankind showing an inner continuity and identity of motive in all the diverse types of religion, primitive and modern, Pagan and Christian. It is a mirror of human experience in which the reader often recognizes himself and his God.

Gleanings in Buddha Fields. By Lafcadio Hearn. Pp. 300, 12mo.; cloth. Price, \$1.25.

A half truth possesses no value until joined with the other half. This writer believes that when the East and West shall meet, knowledge will be complete. Further, he accepts the Buddhist philosophy as in better accord with modern science than is any other religious hypothesis. His exposition is interesting and clear.

The Unseen World, and Other Essays. By John Fiske. Pp. 345, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.80.

It is the world of thought and force not the spirit world that is here discussed. To the reader, this book of well written essays is like a bookstore through which one wanders with pleasure, picking up volume after volume, reading this, dipping into another until finally one finds just the book he is looking for. With what greater satisfaction can one meet?

The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries. By Adolph Harnack. Pp. 349; cloth. Price, \$1.75.

The account of the historical founding of the Christian church is here given on strictly analytical lines.

The Psychology of Inspiration. By George Lansing Raymond. Pp. 339, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.40.

An attempt to distinguish religious from scientific truth and to harmonize Christianity with modern thought.

Comparative Religion. By J. Estlin Carpenter. 12mo.; cloth. Price, 50c.

The whole study of the history of religion is now firmly established on the great idea of evolution. The general movement of human things advances from the cruder and less complex to the more refined and developed.

A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology. By Andrew D. White. Late president of Cornell University. In two volumes. 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$2.50 per volume.

Science has conquered Dogmatic Theology. Theological control will diminish and pure Religion will increase. The introduction to this book is especially interesting, giving the account of the founding of Cornell University and the opposition it encountered from the State of New York and the established church.

Tolerance in Religion. Liberal Thoughts by Modern Thinkers. Collected by Henry Biroth. Pp. 121, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$1.00.

The Golden Rule as an abridged edition of the Ten Commandments inspires this writer to preach religious toleration as a means to human brotherhood.

The World Soul. By H. Fielding-Hall. Pp. 312. Price, \$2.75.

The World Soul is that which pervades all living matter and is the cause and explanation of all phenomena of life, as defined in this book. This hypothesis is worked out well, and furnishes stimulating reading.

Rome of the Pilgrims and the Martyrs. Pp. 375, 8vo.; cloth. Price, \$3.50.

To visitors to the Eternal City who are interested in the Early Christians, this book should be valuable, for it enters into church history and embodies the results of the most recent research.

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